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**STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES
IN GENERAL EDUCATION**

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IN GENERAL EDUCATION

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The Cooperative Study in General Education

STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES IN GENERAL EDUCATION

by
PAUL J. BROUWER

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Foreword

THE COOPERATIVE STUDY in General Education, which was carried on from January 1939 to September 1944, grew out of the interest of a number of colleges in improving their programs of general education. Some of these institutions had long been at work on this problem; others were just beginning their efforts in this field. All these schools believed, however, that they could benefit from a cooperative attack on many of the problems they faced. They felt that, despite differences among colleges, certain basic problems were sufficiently similar to make concerted action profitable. They believed that the sharing of experience, the systematic exchange of material and ideas, and some division of labor in attacking certain complex problems would make possible greater progress. Financially, cooperation would also enable them to obtain for their faculty members the services of consultants and other facilities beyond those they could normally provide.

Representatives of these colleges, convinced that the cooperative program was feasible and desirable, sought the assistance of the American Council on Education. Since visits by representatives of the Council to a number of institutions revealed an active interest in a cooperative undertaking, plans for the organization of the Study and for its financing were submitted to the General Education Board in 1938. The Board voted to support the project for a period of three years, provided that no fewer than fifteen institutions participated and contributed approximately one-half the budget. The American Council on Education officially accepted the responsibility of sponsoring the Study and appointed an executive committee, which selected the colleges to participate and assumed general responsibility for the direction of the Study.

In selecting the colleges, the executive committee used several criteria. They sought institutions which had already undertaken educational experiments and which would participate actively in the work. They also chose colleges which understood the oppor-

tunities and obligations involved in participation and which represented a fairly complete cross section of American higher education. This last criterion is particularly important in understanding the nature of the Study, for in the group finally selected the following types of institutions were represented: the land-grant college, the municipal university, the state teachers college, the independent liberal arts college, the Catholic college, the Protestant church-related college, the Negro college, the four-year college for women, the junior college for women, and the coeducational junior college. While the heaviest geographical grouping fell in the Middle West, the colleges are scattered from Pennsylvania to California and from Minnesota to Alabama.

The twenty-two colleges originally participating in the Study were the following: Allegheny College, Antioch College, Ball State Teachers College, Bethany College, University of Denver, Hendrix College, Hiram College, Hope College, Iowa State College, Little Rock Junior College, University of Louisville, Michigan State College, Mills College, Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Muskingum College, Olivet College, Park College, Pasadena Junior College, College of St. Catherine, Stephens College, Talladega College, and the College of Wooster. During the course of the Study the following colleges withdrew: Bethany College, University of Denver, Hiram College, Hope College, Mills College, Olivet College, and the College of Wooster; and the following colleges, not originally members of the Study, joined it: Centre College of Kentucky, Fisk University, and Macalester College.

To assist in the undertaking, a central office was organized at Chicago and a staff was selected. Because some of the colleges were organized on the so-called "divisional basis," the staff and the work were so organized. Thus, in addition to the director and associate director, one or more staff members were chosen in the humanities, the sciences, the social sciences, and student personnel and counseling.

Each participating college appointed a representative to direct the activity of the Study in that college and to represent the college in general planning sessions. Major administrative responsibility for directing the work of the Study in that college thus fell upon

this representative, who also acted as liaison officer between his college and the members of the central staff.

By common agreement the primary purpose of the Study was to effect desirable changes in educational practice. The Study was not intended merely to survey what was being done or what could be done, although these problems were naturally important. The primary interest of the Study was in what *ought* to be done and how it could be effected.

This principle was to be interpreted only in relation to another basic principle—the complete autonomy of the participating institutions. No “one best” conception of general education, no pre-conceived idea as to the “most important” questions to be studied, nor any dicta as to “the best” method of investigation were to be thrust upon the colleges. The Study was committed to the principle of recognizing differences among the participating colleges and accepting these differences without approval or disapproval. The hypotheses about general education were to grow out of the different, and sometimes conflicting, views of these colleges. Theories were not to be forced upon them by some outside agency.

According to this principle all responsibility for activity in connection with the Study was explicitly invested in the individual colleges. Each college took exclusive responsibility for determining what it could and should do toward improving its own program of general education and for providing the organization and other resources necessary to produce this improvement. The college, not the central staff of the Study or any other body, was to determine what use, if any, it should make of the Study’s resources or what changes it was to introduce into its own program.

Since the responsibility for local cooperation with the Study was assumed by the colleges, all recognized that a college could profit from the Study only by the participation of its faculty. Thence must come the ideas and problems with which the Study was to work. As a result, the Study began work with several hundred problems and projects which were of immediate concern to individuals and groups in a particular institution. Since the Study had committed itself to the principle that the problem to be studied should arise out of the experiences and practices of the colleges

The four volumes of this final report are concerned primarily with the major projects carried on in the various fields. The volumes are entitled *General Education in the Humanities*, *General Education in the Social Studies*, *Student Personnel Services in General Education*, and *Cooperation in General Education: A Final Report of the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study in General Education*.

RALPH W. TYLER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
September 1948

Preface

THIS REPORT, intended for those who work with students—teachers, counselors, administrators—analyzes ways to identify and satisfy the needs of students through the coordinated use of fact-finding devices and of personnel services. Practices in student personnel work are related to the principles which undergird a personnel philosophy of education and which are derived from psychology, sociology, and related fields. The emphasis of the report is upon a unified program of student personnel work as an integral part of the program of general education aimed at the total development of each student.

The contents of the report are based upon the work of many people: instructors, deans, directors of personnel, clinicians, students, and staff members. Their cooperative and individual study of the ways in which the total development of the student may be effectively improved through general education has arisen from the conviction that all those who influence the educational experiences of students are personnel workers.

The report is divided into three parts:

Part I, "Developing the Personnel Services": The Study has involved both major projects of common concern to all the colleges and a multiplicity of institutional studies related to the improvement of practices within the colleges in counseling, teaching, extra-class life, and so on. The report of these specific practices, organized in terms of the various personnel services, is given in Part I. Because these practices represent the work of many individuals in the cooperating colleges as well as of others in institutions participating at the summer workshops in general education, the contents of Part I represent selective reporting by the author for which he alone should be held responsible. A further word of orientation to Part I is given as a special preface beginning on page 3.

Part II, "Facilitating the Personnel Services": As the cooperating colleges studied ways to improve general education, they iden-

tified areas where additional information about students was needed. The development and use of inventories in these areas constituted the major projects in which the Study engaged. In the field of student personnel work, the major projects included the development of two inventories, a "Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations," and an "Inventory of Counseling Relations," discussed in chapter ix. The report on the inventories emphasizes the way in which they have been used to facilitate the personnel services.

Part III, "The Principles of Personnel Services": Although both Parts I and II necessarily include some exposition of the assumptions on which the inventories and the specific practices of personnel work in the Study are based, a more systematic presentation of the principles which guided our work seemed advisable. Accordingly, in Part III we have included brief statements of the principles of psychology, biology, philosophy, and sociology which, taken together, provide a frame of reference for a personnel philosophy of education. The report concludes with a synthesis of these principles in an outline of the major assumptions on which our work has been based.

Because of the many persons interested in student personnel services, the materials from which the report is drawn are extensive. In the text and the Table of Contents the source of some of these materials is recognized. Nevertheless, I should like especially to thank the following persons for their contributions: Sister Annette, College of St. Catherine; Florence I. Mahoney, M.D., of the Veterans Administration and formerly at Stephens College; Mary I. Omer, Stephens College; C. Wesley Cannom, formerly at Park College; and C. D. Stevens and Elizabeth Denman Salt, Antioch College. They have not only contributed valued materials, but also have fashioned them to fit the organization and needs of the report. Their contributions are deeply appreciated.

There are countless other materials which are not directly used but which, taken together, have contributed vitally to the thinking of the report. For these and for the rich experience in numerous discussions with co-workers in student personnel among the co-operating colleges, I owe a special debt of gratitude.

John L. Bergstresser directed the work in student personnel and counseling from the beginning of the Study in 1939 until September 1942, when he became dean of students for The City College of New York. His efforts in organizing the work in student personnel and counseling and his leadership in thinking through the problems confronting their cooperative study have contributed more to the content of this report than I can state. He guided the development of the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations and has given freely of his time since he left the Study in collaborating in writing about it in chapter ix. For his personal interest and effective assistance I am deeply grateful.

During the workshops, several persons joined the staff and contributed their insights and efforts to the development of the personnel point of view which forms the backbone of the report. These persons were Lily Detchen, Neal Drought, J. L. Jarvie, Fred A. Replogle, C. Wesley Cannom, and George Sheviakov. As teachers and leaders in the workshop for one or more summers, they have influenced the thinking and activities of many personnel workers.

The author was associated with the Study as a Fellow in 1941 and took over the work in September 1942 when Mr. Bergstresser left. Although I had a hand in the major projects my major responsibility has been to continue the studies already begun and to report on the total experience of the Study. As indicated above, many persons have contributed directly and indirectly to this report; but I must accept the responsibility for its form and organization. In this connection I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Stephen M. Corey of the University of Chicago who read the report in manuscript form and made excellent, helpful criticisms.

Finally, I am indebted for stimulating assistance to my colleagues of the central staff, Ralph W. Tyler, Ralph W. Ogan, Harold B. Dunkel, and Albert W. Levi.

PAUL J. BROUWER

CHICAGO
December 1947

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Introduction to Part I

THE COOPERATIVE STUDY in General Education aimed to influence the practices in each of the cooperating colleges. The practices in the field of student personnel and counseling are reported in Part I of this volume.

Obviously the report cannot include all of even the significant practices among the cooperating colleges. Some selection must be made in order to limit the discussion and maintain its unity. The criteria of selection can be stated as questions: Does the practice illustrate the application of an important concept or principle of personnel work? Is the practice intrinsically important—whether it be a common practice, such as an admissions program, or a practice not widely adopted, such as the use of students on all standing committees? Is the practice one which demonstrates significant progress during the period of the Study? Such questions have served to sift down the extensive list of particular practices to a report which will constitute a significant and comprehensive summary of what is happening in personnel work on the general education level among the cooperating colleges.

In discussing practices it is inevitable that two conditions arise: One, a practice, such as the system of assigning counselees, is pulled out of its context in a particular college so that it is necessarily discussed apart from the constellation of factors which makes the practice effective in that college. A second condition is that practices are inevitably tied in with a system of concepts and beliefs about human growth and development, the nature of society, and in general about the total job of general education. To consider practices apart from the reasoning behind them is fruitless if we expect to make a discussion of practices helpful to others interested in the improvement of programs of general education.

To take a concrete illustration: According to the conviction of many educators in the cooperating colleges, the college must understand the past experience of the student in order to cope with the present and sensibly to predict the future. Accordingly, not

only the academic record from high school becomes important admissions data, but indications of the student's nonacademic experiences, his personality traits, his feelings, beliefs, skills, and other factors must be included also. In addition, the college is vitally interested in what others say about him—his parents, friends, employers, teachers; finally, they want genetical pictures of health, emotional adjustments, and the like in order to understand how he has coped with the developmental tasks of his childhood and early adolescence. The reasons for requiring this type of information and the purposes to which it shall be put are rooted in the philosophy of education held by the college. In other words, the practices of the college must be considered in the light of their rationale in order to be intelligible.

This need for viewing practices in their relation to theory is emphasized by the unfortunate circumstance that many personnel practices in American education are borrowed blindly from one college by another. For example, an admissions blank, which seems effective in the program of College A, becomes the envy of College X which borrows the blank or modifies it slightly, but then often wonders what to do with the elaborate information it now obtains from an entering student. Under such circumstances, the introduction of a new admissions blank provokes feelings of futility from those who fail to see its merits, hostility from those who opposed its introduction, and defensiveness from those who appropriated it in the first place. In other words, a practice divorced from its rationale easily becomes ineffective.

Before proceeding, however, we need to define briefly what is meant by a "concept" and a "practice." In performing personnel functions, we draw upon our personal and institutional resources: we have certain information about students; we are directed in our thinking by certain beliefs and attitudes; we manifest an interest in one thing, but not in another. All of these resources—information, beliefs, attitudes, interests—are compounded into what we may call "concepts." Our concepts, consequently, are the bases from which we operate. They guide our thinking and our activity. They limit and direct what we think and do and say. The concept, for example, that "the whole student learns" leads to

different classroom practice, calls for different information, creates different interests, from the concept that "education is the process of training the mind."

"Practice" is simply a term to refer to the actual activities in which we engage. The techniques we employ, the kind of organization we develop, the methods we follow—all of what we do—is involved in the word "practices." Obviously practices and concepts are inseparable. We shall try to show their connection as we proceed.

Finally, it should be pointed out that neither the practices nor the concepts and beliefs discussed in Part I are necessarily receiving the unanimous support of all persons among the cooperating colleges. Both the autonomy of the colleges and the variety in points of view regarding personnel work produce divergence of opinion and practice. Nevertheless, the general approach to personnel work described and the general system of belief which underlies this approach will be acceptable to most faculty members of the cooperating colleges. This judgment is based upon staff contacts with all of the colleges through repeated visits, through workshops, through intercollege meetings, and through correspondence.

The practices and beliefs discussed in Part I are, therefore, eclectic; the basis for their selection has not been the question, "Do all of the cooperating colleges engage in this practice or subscribe to this point of view?" but rather the question, "In terms of prevailing judgment among the cooperating colleges, is this practice or this concept significant and representative?"

Organization of Part I

Student personnel services include those college-controlled activities, whether engaged in by students alone or by students and faculty together, which relate to and are directly concerned with the students, individually and in groups. Thus, the following divisions of the college program, which conform to the usual pattern of organization of the college, may be considered as offering opportunities for separate kinds of student personnel services: (1) the counseling service; (2) extra-class life on the campus; (3)

living arrangements; (4) pre- and postcollege personnel services; (5) specialized personnel services; (6) classroom activity; (7) the administration of personnel services. Each of these types of personnel services will be discussed separately in Part I.

Although this organization has the disadvantage of enabling the specialist, such as the teacher, the clinical psychologist, or the admissions officer, to pick out the chapter dealing specifically with the Study's experience in his field and thus possibly of encouraging further specialism, we shall guard against this tendency by pointing out ways in which practices are inextricably related. Our concern is to present the practices of the total program of education which involve the individual student.

Part I

**DEVELOPING THE PERSONNEL
SERVICES**

Counseling: The Process

THE COUNSELING of one individual by another is as old as human experience. From time immemorial, teachers, friends, parents, wives, husbands—people in all kinds of relations—have talked together about their interests, problems, and plans. And the experience of finding new interests, of seeing a problem in a new light, of finding better goals, is certainly not new in life, whether in the college or out of it. The aim of Mark Hopkins and the pupil conferring together in mutual respect has long been the aim of education at the college level.

For a number of reasons, however, this valuation of man-to-man relations in education has in recent years become central to an emphasis upon individualized education. The counseling program has been deemed so educationally worth while in effecting changes in students that systems are worked out to guarantee each of the hundreds and thousands of students an equal opportunity to have counseling experience. To this end, faculty members, trained as specialists in science, history, or philosophy, are now being asked to serve as advisers or counselors. Special personnel techniques, such as testing, are being used to sustain and undergird the counseling program. New personnel, such as the clinical psychologist, are being added to the faculty. In numerous ways, the old-time method of counseling to affect growth is being systematized, structured, and consciously used in the educational program.

All counseling experience, however, is not equally sound from a psychological or educational point of view. Some experiences produce frustration, others freedom; some provoke hostility and resentment which immobilize the counselee and prevent him from achieving precisely the goals which counseling should facilitate; some encourage and strengthen the student to mobilize his personal resources in new ways to achieve desirable goals. The proc-

ess of counseling is hence vitally important. Not just any relation between faculty member and student will produce desirable changes in behavior. The relation must follow sound principles and procedures and must operate within the framework of sound beliefs about how human nature may be affected in face-to-face relations. The cooperating colleges have studied the counseling process in an effort to answer such questions as "What is counseling?" "What should be its objective?" "How does it work?" "Should all faculty members be counselors?" "Can they be?" "Can students be counselors?" Around such questions as these we shall report in this chapter the assumptions, practices, and difficulties of the counseling programs among the cooperating colleges of the Study.

Perhaps in no field of educational practice, however, is there more confusion of terminology and concept than in counseling. Consequently, we shall need to distill from a variety of counseling methods those practices and beliefs which seem to represent the most fruitful understanding of how counseling may meet the needs of students in general education. Such a distillation represents value-judgments regarding psychological principles and educational goals. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that our purpose is not to present a "school of thought," such as that of psychoanalysis or field psychology or some other psychotherapeutic system. Rather, we shall endeavor to clarify issues, citing the evidence from the experience of the Study which supports antagonistic points of view, and to sum up the general point of view which embraces the prevailing counseling procedure among the cooperating colleges.

What Is Counseling?

Counseling in educational institutions has been variously defined.¹ A working definition that undergirds the practices and beliefs of the cooperating colleges of the Study is as follows:

¹ See E. G. Williamson and J. G. Darley, *Student Personnel Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 65-71, for a summary of definitions. The authors conclude, ". . . Counseling as a personnel function suffers from a multiplicity of definitions and practices, just as does the field of personnel work itself."

Counseling is a form of teaching which involves the processes of interaction between two persons.

Counseling is a form of teaching: It belongs to the class of experience which is intended to produce learning. It may involve giving information to the student, voicing judgments and opinions, clarifying issues, providing a relation which develops insight, and all the other verbal activities which teach.

Counseling involves the processes of interaction: Interaction means that one person responds to the stimulus provided by another; that the behavior of both persons is affected; that a working relation is created. This interaction, this relation, operates according to principles of dynamic psychology which define, in ways pointed out below, the processes of interaction between persons.

Counseling involves two persons: Many colleges speak of "group counseling" and "individual counseling." This seems to be confusing and loose terminology. It may be better to use "group guidance" or some other term instead of "group counseling" and to retain "counseling" to indicate the individualized teaching situation.

Aims and Methods of Counseling

Probably basic to all purposes in counseling is the objective of the student's total development. Is he growing in his ability to cope with his own problems? Is he achieving that measure of self-realization which is consistent with his need to reach greater maturity?

The means which are used to achieve the total development of the student may be various. For example, under some circumstances a student's ignorance may be his greatest difficulty; hence, in counseling him, the faculty member or student-counselor gives information. Thus, a student who is tense about his ability to complete a premedical course may be assured by his counselor that in terms of aptitude tests, grades, and clinical judgments by psychologists, he has the necessary aptitudes for studying medicine. Or, suppose a student is spending more hours per week at the movies than his academic proficiency warrants. He is immature and away from the controls of his home for the first time. Accordingly, the

job of the counseling relation is to create the ability in the student to control his expenditure of time. How may it be done? Some counselors will use injunction, advice-giving, and "fatherly" methods of enjoining the student to make wiser use of his time. Others will dig for the causes of the excess movie-going. They will strive to help the student clarify his reasons for attending college; help him thus to see how his frequent trips to the movies are preventing the achievements of which he is capable; and enable him, through "freeing" him from whatever compulsion sends him to the movies, to apply himself more consistently to his studies. The aim of both groups of counselors is the same—the achievement of this student in college in terms of his abilities and purposes—but the methods are entirely different.

It would seem, therefore, that the objectives of counseling are intimately related to the methods used. When advice is given upon request, is the student learning to be emotionally independent? When advice-giving is resolutely rejected, is the student growing in independence? Are there situations when discipline *must* be imposed, punishment *must* be meted out? Is this legitimate counseling? May it relate to development? If so, how? The process of counseling involved in these questions seems a crucial matter, to which we now turn.

Although many questions remain unanswered, the cooperating colleges have found the insights of writers like Rogers, Freud, Adler, Lewin, Prescott, and many others helpful in understanding the counseling process. In a sense, the idea that counseling is a process which occurs in other than a hit-and-miss fashion is fairly recent. Not until the turn of the century was the study of interaction between persons systematized. Faculty members who act as counselors are now studying more precisely *why* counseling is effective. They are finding that certain psychological laws operate in counseling, just as certainly as physiological laws.

In spite of the realization that the counseling process is ordered and structured, not haphazard, it should not be immediately assumed that all the facts of interaction between persons are known. There are many unsolved problems. Counselors, therapists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, social workers, industrial personnel people, and psychiatrists who utilize counseling in effecting

changes in people proceed more certainly than thirty years ago, but still with the tentativeness that must accompany procedures based on hypotheses. Human beings are so infinitely complex that the best formulations in theory are still subject to extremely cautious use. In the spirit, therefore, of "we know more than we used to know but not enough to be dogmatic," we shall discuss two broad concepts of the counseling process, both of which are used by the cooperating colleges of the Study.

Two Kinds of Counseling

These two concepts of counseling have different aims, basic assumptions, and procedures. Each point of view is expressed in the practices of equally well-trained counselors. They may be called, for want of more accurate titles, "prescriptive" and "permissive" methods in counseling. By "prescriptive counseling" is meant those practices wherein the counselor makes judgments about the student and endeavors to communicate them to him as effectively as possible in order to influence him to behave in ways *prescribed* by the counselor (but now accepted by the student). By "permissive counseling" is meant those practices in which the counselor creates a permissive relation which enables the student freely to express his feelings, emotions, and ideas, to the end that he will be more independent and self-understanding and hence more capable of solving his own problems. These methods are briefly illustrated in the interview with SJ.

INTERVIEW WITH SJ²

Imagine that a student, SJ, said exactly the same words with the same inflection to two deans whom we shall call Dean A and Dean B. SJ has come voluntarily to see each dean separately. He has not met either one before.

The dean says: Good morning. Won't you sit down? (SJ sits.) What would you like to talk about?

SJ: There's a little problem I want to talk over with you. I haven't got

² Adapted from materials supplied by Dean of Students Basil Pillard, Antioch College. The contrasting interviews with Deans A and B, assuming the identical initial situation, highlight the different procedures and outcomes when permissive or prescriptive counseling methods are used. These differences are discussed more fully in the following pages.

my high school diploma yet. I came to college under an arrangement whereby I am to get it this June.

For perhaps sentimental reasons I'd like to get my diploma with the rest of my high school class this June. Up until now I'd been planning to take a week off and go home at that time. My home is in Z [a city 700 miles away]. I thought at that time I'd also see my draft board because I'm just turning eighteen and will have to register.

I guess I didn't realize the difference between high school and college courses. I didn't realize how important lectures were at college. I'd hate to miss the lectures in biology and in Mr. C's course.

(Prescriptive Method)

Dean A: Sure, you may go home if you'd like to; nothing in the rules against it. But I wouldn't advise you to. From June 18 to 28 you will have ten free days to see your friends, your draft board, and all that. You won't miss any classes here. You'll not lose out in your work.

SJ: I suppose you're right. But I'd hate to miss graduation—for sentimental reasons, I suppose. Mr. Bixby, the principal, was swell about letting me start college before I officially graduated, and I'd kind of hate to let him down.

Dean A: I know it seems a little as though you're ignoring him. But as you said yourself, college is different from high school. It hardly pays to cut lectures and labs unless absolutely necessary. But, of course, you'll have to decide for yourself whether to stick it out or duck out. It doesn't seem to me that going back to your high school graduation is absolutely necessary, is it, SJ?

(Permissive Method)

Dean B: You're beginning to feel that if you take a week of the quarter to go home, it will put you behind the eight-ball.

SJ: That's it. I just don't know what to do, and I thought I'd ask you to advise me.

Dean B: Well, I think that's a choice you'll want to make for yourself. You're free to go home if you want. Perhaps, if we talk it over a little more, you'll see more clearly what is best.

SJ: How long do we get off between the spring and summer quarters?

Dean B: You'll get about ten days—from June 18 to the 28th.

SJ: Oh, that's quite a long time. I would like to get back and see my high school class. There are a lot of fellows who will be drafted, and I may not see them again. But now I'm inclined to stay here and go home in between quarters. I couldn't afford to go home both times. If I went for graduation, I know I'd feel

SJ: No, I guess not. You're probably right. Well, I'll stick it out until the ten-day vacation between quarters.

Dean A: Good boy. So long.

(*SJ leaves.*)

pressed and that I was missing out here.

Dean B: You'd like to go, but you wouldn't have such a good time knowing what you were missing here.

SJ: You know, the more I think it over, the more I feel it would be foolish to go. I think I'd feel much better to wait and take the time between quarters. I think that's what I'll do.

Dean B: You're beginning to feel sure that the decision you've made will work out better?

SJ: Yes; well, thanks very much. I guess I just needed to talk it over and get it straight in my own mind. I see it more clearly now. Thanks a lot.

Dean B: You're quite welcome.

(*SJ leaves.*)

PERMISSIVE COUNSELING

The aim of permissive, nondirective counseling is, according to Rogers, to help the student "to become a better organized person, oriented around healthy goals which [he] has clearly seen and definitely chosen."³ It aims to provide the student with a "united purpose, the courage to meet life and the obstacles which it presents. . . . Consequently, the client takes from his counseling contacts, not necessarily a neat solution for each of his problems, but the ability to meet his problems in a constructive way."⁴

Dean B did not try to give *SJ* the answer to his question, "Should I go home for high school graduation?" Instead, he consistently

³ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942), p. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

attempted to clarify SJ's feelings and his goals in order that SJ might have the experience, *in counseling*, of seeing his problem clearly and meeting it.

Rogers defines effective counseling as a "definitely structured, permissive relationship which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself to a degree which enables him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientation. This hypothesis has a natural corollary, that all the techniques used should aim toward developing this free and permissive relationship, this understanding of self in the counseling and other relationships, and this tendency toward positive, self-initiated action."⁵

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

This definition may be made more explicit by indicating the basic assumptions involved in it. The first three relate to the way in which change in behavior occurs; the second three, to the process of counseling.

1. The individual is assumed to have a strong, impelling "drive toward growth, health, and adjustment." The problem which the student faces is *his* problem which *he* wants more than anyone else to overcome. Counseling is, therefore, an effort to free the individual to solve his own problem in his own way. Dean B tried to help SJ meet his own problem in his own way, to "free" him from the indecision which troubled him. Dean A, on the other hand, tried to help SJ by taking over the problem, by making it his (Dean A's) own, and then by handing it back, solved.

2. The feelings and emotions in the problem situation are more significant than the intellectual elements when change in behavior occurs. A student said she knew she ought not to be homesick—it was childish and silly—but she was homesick just the same. This emphasis upon feeling "is finally making effective the long-standing knowledge that most maladjustments are not failures in knowing, but that knowledge is ineffective because it is blocked by the emotional satisfactions which the individual achieves through the present maladjustments. . . ."⁶

3. The individual changes his behavior only to achieve his

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

goals more effectively. The central question always is, "What are the individual's goals?" The student who runs from one counselor to another to talk about vocational choices or other problems, never making decisions, behaves indecisively because of satisfactions he derives from such a state of mind. He is achieving his goal. He must be helped to recognize his real goal; if it is unacceptable to him—if he really does not want to be indecisive—new goals will emerge and changed behavior will therefore result.

4. A permissive relation with the counselor "frees" the student to attack his real problem. In such a relation, the counselor generally responds to feeling instead of to content. Note the first response of Dean B after SJ has stated his problem: "You're beginning to feel that if you take a week out of the quarter to go home it will put you behind the eight-ball." Dean B puts into words the feeling which SJ has manifested. Dean B's response to *feeling* ultimately leads to SJ's remark, "I think I'd feel much better to wait. . . . I think that's what I'll do," the point when SJ sees his problem clearly and himself decides upon a course of action.

5. Counseling is itself a growth experience. This assumption is borne out in SJ's experience with Dean B: he changed *during* the counseling period.

6. Certain conditions must be met before this permissive approach is feasible. Permissive counseling is not a panacea but, like prescriptive counseling, to be discussed later, a method of counseling which functions only under certain conditions. The prime requisite for a counseling relation which calls for permissive methods is that the student is under stress to solve a problem. The stress is so great that the student is willing to express his feelings freely about it, regardless of the pain which such expression may bring with it. For example, SJ's indecision troubled him sufficiently so that he could say, "for perhaps sentimental reasons I'd like to get my diploma with my class" and "I guess I didn't realize the difference between high school and college courses. I didn't realize how important lectures were at college. I'd hate to miss the lectures in biology and in Mr. C's course." Such admissions of sentiment, ignorance, and change of mind represent feelings that an indifferent, hostile, or untroubled student could not or would not make. Dean B's function was to release these feelings,

recognize them, and thus enable SJ to come to a wise decision.

There are other qualifying conditions which govern the feasibility of permissive counseling, such as the student's ability to cope with his situation, the opportunity for planned contacts with the counselor over a period of time, the student's freedom from organic disturbances or excessive emotional instabilities, and so forth.⁷

In permissive counseling, the faculty member plays a unique role. By responding to feeling, not content, he mirrors the student's feelings and emotions. He does not add to, nor subtract from, the feeling; he does not affect the kind or intensity of feeling. In a sense, he reflects, mirror-fashion, what the student *is* so that the counselee can see himself more realistically. An adolescent girl says to her counselor:

I've been thinking about what you are to me. It's as though you were myself—a part of me. You're a balance wheel; you're not a person. It's almost as if I were talking to myself, but with someone listening and trying to think on it. I'm not getting rid of anything but a lot of stored-up feeling. I don't come for advice. No, sometimes I do. But then I'm conscious that I want advice. It really bothers me when you become a person. What you do is let a person talk and put in comments that keep it going, instead of stewing in a circle. That's why I say that you're a balance wheel. It's different now. When I first met you, you were a person. I disliked you because you were touching sore spots. Now I know you'll be a person when I need you to be. Other times you're someone to blow off steam to and to talk to so I can make up my mind.⁸

The counselor lets "a person talk and puts in comments that keep it going instead of stewing in a circle." His comments are responses to feeling. The counselor is "someone to talk to so I can make up my mind." The student makes the decisions; the counselor creates the atmosphere in which the troubled student is free to decide. The counselor supplies friendliness, a genuine warmth, and responsiveness without maudlin sympathy. He is neither judge nor advocate, but allows the free expression of any feelings, no matter how hostile, aggressive, or guilty. He controls

⁷ See *Ibid.*, chap. iii, pp. 51-85.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 230, quoting from V. W. Lewis, "Intensive Treatment with Adolescent Girls," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, IV (Sept.-Oct. 1940), 184.

the situation only by setting up certain limits beyond which the student cannot go; for example, he limits the time of each interview, and he refuses to allow the student to draw him into argument, debate, or discussion of personal views. Finally, he keeps the counseling situation free from coercion or pressure.

PRESCRIPTIVE COUNSELING

If permissive counseling may be characterized as student-controlled, prescriptive counseling by contrast is counselor-controlled. This difference is clean-cut when we consider the basic assumptions, the sequence of counseling steps, and the counselor's function in the prescriptive approach.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1. Prescriptive counseling assumes that the counselor is better able to identify desirable goals for the student than the student himself. Because of his training, his maturity, and his information about the student from personnel materials such as tests, records, and health reports, the counselor can make better judgments than can the student about such matters as the student's vocational choices, life-goals, or relations with others. The student comes to the counselor with a problem. The latter, after careful study of relevant materials, provides him with alternative solutions. The student himself selects from the counselor-chosen alternatives the choice which he wishes to make.

2. The emphasis in prescriptive counseling is upon the intellectual approach to the student's problem. It is assumed that knowledge of alternative choices or solutions will lead to proper choice and hence to changed behavior. In other words, the acceptance of goals is a rational, logical process. A student, for example, desired very much to be a doctor, but obviously lacked the scholastic aptitude and other personal qualifications. If he followed prescriptive methods, the counselor would show the student the requirements for medicine, would analyze the student's case material for indications of other vocational potentialities, and would, finally, provide him with the best possible choices which wise and keen insight into the student's situation would provide. Such a procedure, it is presumed, would enable

the student (if the counseling was skillful) to "see" these choices as feasible possibilities for him. He would know which choice to make. If he tended to choose erroneously, the counselor would, of course, urge him to try out, at least, that course which seemed to suit his abilities and interests most favorably, emphasizing the necessity, too, of making tentative decisions.

3. Effective counseling demands personnel materials, an assumption related to the process of counseling. The counselor recognizes the limitations of tests and measurements, but they are, nevertheless, indispensable. In making judgments of appropriate choices for the student, in appraising interests, abilities, needs, and the like, the counselor cannot depend upon his "hunches." Personnel materials of all sorts provide the objective data which justify and support his analysis.

4. The counselor carries the burden of responsibility for the solution of the student's problem. In the last analysis, it is his judgments from which the student may choose, his interpretations of personnel data which guide the student's thinking, and his responsibility to stick with the problem until the student sees the light.

BASIC DIFFERENCES

HOW IS BEHAVIOR CHANGED?

One basic difference between prescriptive and permissive methods lies in a difference in belief as to how changes in behavior are most efficiently brought about. Permissive counseling assumes that the individual has a strong drive toward goals; when his realization of his goals is inadequate or when he cannot reach them because he is immobilized by fears, anxieties, or frustrations, maladjustment occurs. Through the permissive relation with the counselor he clarifies his goals, understands himself more clearly, and is able to reorganize his feelings and emotions so that he is enabled to move forward once again toward achieving his goals. In this way, behavior changes—learning occurs and educational objectives are realized.

Prescriptive counseling, on the contrary, assumes that growth occurs through intellectual understanding of inadequacies in present goals. A student aspires to leadership in extra-class activities but lacks the potentialities to be a leader. The counselor,

after making a careful valuation of the student's potentialities, points out to him the unrealistic nature of his goal and provides him with alternative objectives more compatible with his abilities. The student, recognizing the validity of the counselor's appraisal, accepts his judgment, changes his goals, and finds new activities more consistent with his abilities. His behavior has changed—the educational objective of orienting the student to himself and the world about him has been realized.

WHEN IS COUNSELING NEEDED?

A second basic difference between these points of view relates to the conditions which prevail when counseling is needed. Permissive counseling operates most effectively when definite preliminary conditions have been met. For example, the student faces a serious problem which he feels incapable of solving. Prescriptive counseling is applicable at any time, whether or not students face serious problems or are unaware of their problems. In fact, in the judgment of the counselor, a student may be "riding for a fall" so that the counselor's intervention is an obligation. For example, a student inadvertently or ignorantly has signed up for too heavy a load of courses. The counselor feels sure the student is doomed to fail. He accordingly steps into the life of the student, as it were, and discusses the probabilities of failure. In other instances, the counselor meets students routinely to discuss their plans, problems, and interests. Not only when students are psychologically prepared to change their behavior, therefore, is prescriptive counseling applicable.

WHAT IS THE COUNSELOR'S ROLE?

A third point of opposition involves the role of the counselor. By implication, the prescriptive counselor "knows best" because he has judgments and advice to make on the basis of personnel data, experience, and insights not understandable or available to the student. Hence he is justified in intervening in the student's life, in determining the best possible alternative goals for the student. On the other hand, the permissive counselor provides no answers about what is right or best for the student. He scrupulously avoids projecting his own judgments and opinions into the discussion. His sole purpose is, by skilled questions and com-

ments and by the creation of a permissive counseling relation, to help the student to solve his own problems.

WHAT IS THE AIM?

A fourth basic difference exists in the fundamental aim of the counseling process. In prescriptive counseling, the faculty member aims to change the student's behavior in ways which he, the counselor, thinks desirable. He prescribes the alternatives and urges the selection of the most appropriate one. He is thus constantly called upon to make value-judgments about desirable goals for another person and about courses of action designed to achieve these goals. Nevertheless, he aims also as counselor to leave the choices up to the student in order that the latter may become more mature and independent. But the student's choices must be right in the eyes of the counselor, or further counseling, further efforts to "win over" the student, are necessary. The basic aim of prescriptive counseling is, therefore, to secure development along lines judged or prescribed by the counselor.

Permissive counseling, on the other hand, aims to provide the student with the opportunity to find his own goals and achieve them, regardless of what these goals may be. The emphasis is entirely on the growth of the student, not on the particular pattern of behavior which such growth brings with it. Permissive counseling is not concerned with the adequacy of a student's goals, but only with whether or not the student accepts them without difficulty. Dean B, for example, was more concerned as a counselor with how SJ might learn to analyze his own problem than with whether SJ decided to go home for commencement or to stay at the college; Dean A, on the other hand, attended strictly to the intellectual, logical content of SJ's question and was hence concerned primarily with SJ's sticking it out because such a course of action would be, *in his judgment as counselor*, the *advisable* thing for SJ to do.

NOT AN EITHER-OR QUESTION

In spite of these basic differences, both approaches have value depending on (1) the demands of the counseling situation and (2) the counselor's abilities, training, interests, and purposes.

1. THE DEMANDS OF THE COUNSELING SITUATION

We have implied that some counseling situations demand that the counselor make judgments and decisions. When faculty members, for example, are required to approve a student's selection of courses, they must as counselors feel that this selection is appropriate to the interests and abilities of the student as well as to the academic requirements of the college.

Or, to illustrate from counseling in another area, a student has been caught cheating. Punishment must be meted out. In performing this administrative function, the counselor is concerned primarily with the preservation of the college and secondarily with the growth of the student involved. Accordingly, he administers the punishment, such as probation, but attempts at the same time to help the student to see the relation of the experience to his need to change his behavior. The counselor intervenes in the life of the student, it is true; but such intervention is necessary for the preservation of the society of which the student is a member.

Or, to give a third illustration, the student is not aware of problems which the counselor sees clearly. For example, David was constantly tired, frequently slept in class, missed assignments, and did work far below his capacities. The counselor knew that David was desperately trying to earn all of his college expenses by working as night clerk in a hotel. He slept on a cot whenever he could snatch a few minutes from the switchboard or the desk. Before starting this work, David had been doing superior work as a premedical student. His academic inefficiencies now were going to cost him admission to the best medical school. But David insisted that he must work, for his wages were his only source of income. The counselor saw that intervention in David's life was necessary. He, therefore, arbitrarily reduced David's number of courses, insisted upon a physical examination, and made arrangements for some scholarship aid.

A fourth type of situation demanding prescription is that wherein the student obviously needs to be thrown in conflict; a problem must be *created* in order to provide the conditions leading to growth. Learning occurs only when goals cannot be reached. The counselor, therefore, may sometimes prescribe courses of

study, or other activities which involve goals that cannot be reached easily. For example, Mary was apparently content to be a wallflower. Her counselor assumed that her dissatisfaction with herself in social situations were probably great, but that her fears were too great to allow her to change. That is, she preferred being a wallflower to being upset by being forced to change her behavior. He accordingly deliberately intervened in her life by forcing her to discuss her social relations, her fears, and her previous social experiences. Because he was a good prescriptive counselor, he maintained rapport. Mary finally felt seriously enough disturbed to think actively about how she might improve. Only by thus throwing Mary into conflict by prescriptive methods was the counselor able to teach Mary how to live more effectively and happily.

Permissive counseling, on the other hand, is called for in situations where the student is *already aware* of a problem or where problems or goals are clearly involved. He knows he faces a serious difficulty even though he may not be aware of its exact nature. Experience has shown that relatively few students are in situations demanding exclusively permissive methods in counseling. However, experience in the Study has shown repeatedly both that permissive methods should be used more often than they are and, second, that effective counseling utilizes both the permissive and prescriptive approaches. For example, the following two stories⁹ may be examined in the light of the question, "What is happening when prescriptive methods are used? when permissive methods are used?" In the second column of the stories are comments designed to highlight the answers to such questions.

STORY 1

Author's Comment

A mother has brought her daughter in to talk with the dean of women. [Who has the problem, mother or daughter?]

The girl is bashful and shy. The

⁹This and the following story of counseling experiences were given orally by college students in response to pictures of the author's Picture Test of Counseling, which is an adaptation of the Murray Thematic Apperception Test. The student necessarily projects his own experiences into the story. The stories are given exactly as the students spontaneously spoke them.

mother has come to talk about the daughter's shyness and to try to bring her out, help her get rid of her shyness.

The girl is scared and mum. She is scared because of not knowing how to meet other people; she is scared of boys. The mother asks the dean's help.

The girl has no self-confidence. The three of them talk about the problems. The dean says, "Let's look at your good points and try to forget about yourself. When meeting other people, do not think of yourself in relation to them, but take for granted that they want to be friends with you. About boys: be as easy and friendly with them as with girls."

[The dean becomes mistakenly prescriptive. The girl is not emotionally ready to profit from such judgments, which she may already know.]

Note in this story the student's utter passivity. The mother and the dean dominate the conference. A shy, scared student, filled with tremulous feelings of inferiority, is given judgments of herself that, rather than inspiring self-confidence by showing her how she can command herself, imply that she needs someone to lean on, either dean or mother. Prescriptive methods have failed.

However, suppose that the counselor had recognized the mother's dominance of her daughter as a factor in producing the shyness. Suppose that the counselor had then merely listened to the mother's complaints, assured them both that the daughter could help herself if she wanted to, that she (the dean) would be willing to work with the girl, and had then and there made an appointment to meet the girl alone the next day? The girl would more likely be prepared to accept her problem as her own—not her mother's. She could show this acceptance by coming in for the appointment next day. She could more easily, then, be led by permissive methods to explore the feelings which caused the shyness and excessive timidity. In other words, the counselor in the story, by not recognizing the nature of the problem and the possibility that the girl really did not want to overcome it, committed the *faux pas* of giving advice which may have sealed the cracks in the wall, but would not prevent it

from falling. A rebuilding job of the girl's personality seems called for—and the girl herself is the only one fit to be architect.

STORY 2

Author's Comment

At the beginning of the school year, a freshman comes to see her adviser. She starts crying; she says she likes home better than college and has decided to leave school because she does not like the teachers, the other girls—in fact, she has no friends.

[The student has a problem she wants to solve—the first requirement of permissive counseling. The counselor begins permissively by letting the feelings of the student flow without interruption. He does not approve or disapprove of what she is saying.]

The parents don't help matters by not writing her letters wondering how their daughter is getting along.

The adviser tells her ways to adjust to her new environment. He asks her to try it a little while longer before making a decision. She is emotionally immature. But she says she will try it a little while longer *for his sake*.

She sticks it out.

[The adviser becomes prescriptive by pointing out the "ways to adjust."]

[The student identifies with the adviser.]

In spite of the fortunate ending to this story, it is doubtful that the counseling experience taught the girl anything. She apparently stayed in college because she found in the adviser the kind of father-substitute which she needed if she were to maintain her immaturity. That is, at home she presumably was extremely dependent upon her parents, who, in turn, do not seem to have been greatly concerned about her or, if they were, were trying to decrease her dependence upon them by not writing her. The student apparently needed to grow in emotional independence from home ties. But the counselor ignored this need and thought only in terms of meeting the immediate situation of homesickness. He "advised" her what she should do, how she should behave, what the causes of her difficulty were, without recognizing sufficiently the feelings of dependence which prompted the situation.

Let us suppose now that the counselor had said, following the student's outburst and explanation of her feelings, something like this: "You feel that you stand all alone, don't you?" or, "You seem to feel lost without familiar surroundings and familiar people, don't you?" Such responses would probably produce more negative feelings. By continuing to respond to her feelings, however, the counselor would probably be able to help the student work through to positive feelings about herself, such as, "Well, I do seem to be dependent upon my folks; but I suppose I can learn to stand alone" or, "I guess what I really wanted was somebody's shoulder to cry on. Silly of me. I'll be all right now."

Presumably permissive methods in a situation such as this would produce the growth which will permanently enable the student to make decisions and adjustments in a more appropriate way. Prescriptive counseling, by not recognizing the student's basic need and by responding only to the surface exigencies of the problem, probably will produce no change, no learning, no growth. Thus this student will continue to depend upon her counselor's advice in matters that she should learn to handle herself.

Both of the above stories illustrate situations which demand permissive counseling. Situations in which prescriptive counseling is called for and in which permissive methods would be futile could also be illustrated. For example, a student comes in to find out when Mathematics 102 meets, or whether Art 607 will be offered next quarter, or whether he can change his roommate, or postpone his tuition payment. Situations such as these demanding information can be met adequately only by information. Or a student wonders whether he should marry a girl in whose family there is insanity because there is also a taint in his family. Again, factual information and enlightened judgments on the basis of the counselor's expert knowledge of the facts of heredity, the students' family histories, their personality, and other matters is needed; such a response as "You are in doubt about marrying this girl?" would be as futile as it would be fatuous.

2. THE COUNSELOR'S ABILITIES, TRAINING, INTERESTS, AND FUNCTIONS

The permissive counselor needs special abilities, such as the capacity to be warmly responsive to the student without demand-

ing affection in return, the ability to withhold judgment, to respond verbally only to feeling and to ignore content, to be tolerant, and so on. Such characteristics as these demanded by a thoroughly permissive relation are not commonly found in our competitive society. They are unique, although some persons through their own excellent adjustment to life's basic problems have acquired them without special training. For others, psychological training and extensive experience in working with others in permissive relations seem necessary.

Prescriptive methods utilize the more common characteristics in our culture, such as sound judgment, the effective use of objective data, and a keen interest in promoting and prescribing the welfare of others. In addition, prescriptive methods demand knowledge of the materials of counseling, such as tests, anecdotal records, health reports, and academic records. The counselor must be able to use these materials in order to arrive at an accurate appraisal of the student.

Most faculty members traditionally have used prescriptive methods in their counseling work. The usual personnel program, the expectations of the student and his parents, the general didactic emphasis of the college and, perhaps not least, the human proclivity to advice-giving, to prescribing suitable ideas and courses of action to younger or less informed persons, have combined to popularize and structure the prescriptive approach to counseling. It is the usual thing to do.

However, the newer understanding of the dynamics of face-to-face relations in changing behavior bids fair to modify this situation. Some counselors, because of their temperament, training, and interest, will increasingly utilize permissive methods along with prescriptive techniques. Others, for the same reasons, will continue to use prescriptive approaches. The most effective counseling seems to be that which adapts its methods to the demands of the situation.¹⁰ There is no one best way. It is not permissive versus prescriptive counseling, but rather both, as techniques to achieve the objectives for which each is best suited.

¹⁰ See chap. x, "Psychological Principles," pp. 225-52.

II

Counseling: The Program

Who Should Counsel?

THE FOREGOING DESCRIPTION of prescriptive and permissive counseling methods has many implications for the question, "Who should counsel?" The requirements of the two methods are different; ostensibly some faculty members who are capable of excellent prescriptive counseling would be inept at permissive counseling. In order to clarify the bases, therefore, for selection of counselors, either faculty members or students, the following factors should be borne in mind.

THE NEEDS OF THE COUNSELOR

At frequent points in this report, the idea that "teachers are also people" is stressed to highlight the fact, often overlooked, that teachers have basic personality needs which inevitably affect their activities, purposes, and beliefs. Perhaps in no other single activity of the teacher is this emphasis upon needs more important than in counseling. For counseling is, by definition, interaction between persons. Hence, the needs of each party to the counseling experience may be expected to affect it most noticeably. Sometimes the needs of the faculty member are such that he cannot be an effective counselor; sometimes they permit him to counsel only with regard to certain areas of living; sometimes his adjustments are sufficiently adequate to permit him to work therapeutically with students.

An illustration or two will recall to any faculty member's mind instances where the significance of these considerations is apparent. Mr. M's most obvious need was for security. On the faculty of X college for twenty years, he had been shifted about from one department to another; he still had not developed for himself a valued role in the life of the institution. Currently, he was head of a new struggling department. Mr. M's personal in-

security—his basic feeling of not “belonging”—coupled with the need of his new department for students, combined to make him a poor counselor who registered freshmen for advanced courses in his department; who maneuvered things so that he was assigned a larger number of counselees; who assumed a dictatorial attitude toward students, confidently telling them what courses they should and should not take, what specifically to do about their problems, and so on. In all his counseling, his insecurity manifested itself in dogmatism which alienated more independent students, but which ingrained the dependence of others more deeply still. He filled his classes, but at what a cost in the growth of students!

Miss L was a competent teacher in that she was a well-informed and stimulating lecturer. As a counselor, however, her own needs in the area of adjustment to the opposite sex militated against her effectiveness. At forty-five she was a good-looking spinster whose indifference toward men hid a fierce bitterness over her own experience as a college student. At twenty, just graduated from a midwest university, she had fallen in love with an intern who had an exceptionally promising future as a neural surgeon. They had postponed marriage because he put his training first. She waited for him, meanwhile earning her own Ph.D. degree in biology. Then suddenly he married the office secretary of a brain surgeon with whom he was working. Miss L never fully recovered from being jilted. In her counseling she inevitably felt tense when discussing heterosexual adjustments. Her own protective cynicism distorted the conversation and tended to prevent in students a fine exploration of the feelings, emotions, and ideas related to boy-girl relations.

THE COUNSELOR'S UNDERSTANDING OF BEHAVIOR

Another factor which affects the selection of a counselor is the adequacy of his information, beliefs, and concepts regarding human behavior. We have defined counseling as interaction between two persons; the interaction is governed and made to serve educational ends by the counselor. The effectiveness of such control of the interaction depends, consequently, upon the counselor's understanding of the *process* of interaction. He must have concepts of human behavior which guide him in his questions,

which inhibit certain responses, and which clarify his understanding of how he as counselor may utilize this knowledge for the student's growth.

Such an understanding of behavior implies more than common sense in dealing with people. Of course, common sense is not to be minimized. No doubt many teachers inadvertently are acceptable counselors because their own adjustment to life is mentally healthful and because they seem to have an intuitive understanding of people. This, however, is insufficient. The co-operating colleges are attempting to conceptualize this common sense and to add to it the refinements necessary to better understanding of the deeper levels of counseling work.

Insufficient insight into human nature on the part of the counselor is well illustrated in the following story: A professor of mathematics is talking with a girl who is rather spoiled. She came in for help on rather obvious problems, hoping to get him to do the problems for her. The professor (1) shows her how and then tells her to do her own. She fiddles around and says she can't get them. This has happened two or three times. Finally, she goes into a childish rage. (2) He tells her she is acting like a child. Then she angrily leaves the room.

The professor seemed unaware that this girl's behavior was saying, "I don't want to assume responsibility for my own work." If he had had this insight, he would have acted differently, perhaps (1) refusing to show her how to work the problems until she recognized her basic problem—the desire to evade responsibility—or, perhaps (2) helping her to see that she went into a childish rage because this technique had been helpful to her in the past. At any rate, the counselor's inability to interpret the student's behavior prevented this counseling experience from being a source of growth toward maturity for the student. Common sense told him that she was acting like a child, but it could not tell him why. Counselors need to develop the ability to react, not to surface manifestations alone, but to underlying feelings and emotions which usually control behavior.

THE ABILITY TO USE PERSONNEL DATA

The plethora of personnel data has often dismayed counselors.

Here is a teacher of history, for example, who never has had counseling duties or has familiarized himself with tests or their interpretation. Now he finds himself faced with twelve advisees for each of whom the personnel department has accumulated a folder filled with a vast array of correspondence, blanks, rating scales, test results, health reports, statement grades, personality inventories, profiles, and the like. He is told that to counsel effectively, even in so apparently simple a matter as registering a new student, he must acquaint himself with the contents of each folder and utilize its findings. He is dismayed because, although he wants to do a good job of counseling, this battery of data is incomprehensible to him.

To meet this situation, many experiments have been undertaken by the Study to acquaint classroom teachers with the appropriate use of personnel data. For example, profile forms which summarize the results of many tests and inventories help a counselor to see the pattern of scores. Even when, as in the case of the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations, there is a total of fifty-four scores, the profile reduces their complexity.¹ Health reports are summarized; entrance data are reported in précis form containing only the most significant vital information. In one college, the director of admissions went through the sixteen-page entrance form for each new student, checking in red pencil the responses that a counselor might find particularly noteworthy in working with the student—that Mary was an only child; that her vocational choice was disapproved by her parents; that she participated in no high school extra-class activities, and so forth.

The ability to use personnel data appropriately is developed by the methods suggested above. Each attempt to acquire and systematically use personnel information is based upon the belief that counseling should not be a hit-and-miss or casual relation proceeding without all essential available facts.

DANGERS AND DIFFICULTIES

We may conclude the discussion of this central question of "who should counsel?" by commenting briefly on certain dangers

¹ See Fig. 4, p. 196, for a sample profile.

and difficulties. As stated before, some colleges believe that ability to teach and to counsel are synonymous and that in a student-centered educational program, all teachers should be advisers. They accordingly try to select teachers who meet such qualifications and incorporate every teacher directly into the counseling program. Other colleges assert that counseling is a specialized function reserved for a few especially trained faculty members—the “experts.” Still other colleges take an intermediate position by asserting that counseling should be a voluntary matter and assume that when the counseling corps consists of volunteers, the quality of counseling is better than when it is forced by administrative fiat. There are good and bad effects from each of these practices.

When all faculty members counsel, the continued emphasis upon the individual—his needs, interests, unique pattern of abilities—stimulates more effective efforts to individualize instruction. Faculty members tend to “work where students are living” and to avoid instruction that is not related specifically to needs. Especially on the level of general education does this seem to be a worthy and needed emphasis.

The bad effects result from the fact that all faculty members are not equally capable as counselors and as teachers. The concepts and processes in counseling are not yet part of many graduate school programs for training college teachers. As an inevitable result, the ideal of “all teachers are counselors” over-reaches itself. Some teachers become confused, and hence doubly ineffectual; the counseling program is violated more frequently when there is general counseling, and may be slandered and sabotaged. Progress becomes very difficult.

When only “experts” counsel, there is little doubt that counseling is more effective. However, not enough will be done. The difficulty which inevitably accompanies such a program is that other faculty members tend to be uninterested in the individualized approach to education. They feel justified to “let George do it.” All of the values to teachers which are inherent in working individually with students, such as the realization of individual differences and the strong conviction that classroom experience must be relevant to the student’s interests and abilities,

tend to be lost. A further danger is that students lose the value of personal relations with instructors. They know their counselors —*maybe*, for there are often five hundred students for each expert—but they do not know their instructors.

In the intermediate position—where *all counselors are volunteers*—faculty members whose own personal insecurity makes them unfit as counselors are precisely the ones who often volunteer. In a very real sense, good mental health *enables* one to be a counselor or not, to live close to students or not. But some faculty members feel they "must" be counselors because "they can do so much for students" or because "students tell me all their troubles and problems."

On the other hand, volunteer counselors may be motivated by professional interest. They would naturally tend to include the more competent faculty members so far as personnel work is concerned. And, finally, they seem more willing to engage in fruitful self-study programs designed to improve the quality of counseling work.

CONCLUSION

The general tendency with regard to "who should counsel?" among the cooperating colleges seems to be toward the idea of every faculty member a counselor. To this end, extensive in-service training programs are being developed. Most colleges are proceeding cautiously by employing volunteers or assigning counseling duties to a limited number of faculty members. The factors we have discussed in this section, plus the peculiar local situations, produce in each case variations to the central theme.

Materials Needed

The materials with which counselors work vary from college to college according to counseling purposes and emphases. There is certainly no one group of materials that can be said, upon the basis of experience in the Study, to merit adoption by other colleges. On the contrary, the materials are recognized increasingly by the cooperating colleges as being subordinate to the ideas about counseling.

Take the cases of Colleges X and Y. Both were disgruntled about their admissions procedures. Both felt the need for more adequate information about the entering student than was supplied by sporadic correspondence and the high school record. College X attempted to solve the problem by stating the kinds of information they wanted and why they wanted it. Since they felt that counseling experiences should touch upon all aspects of living, they asked themselves, "What do we need to know if we are to influence the total development of the student?" The director of admissions spent some time, as a General Education Board Fellow, studying the problem. He developed a number of ideas which he took back to his college. Among them were these four criteria for any item of information to be secured about the student:

1. Does the item of information meet some need which is related to the objectives of the institution? For example, one objective of the college is the development of the whole student. This involves aptitudes, interests, beliefs, skills, and information. Consequently, any items of information which suggest the student's status with respect to aptitudes, interests, etc., is legitimate and needed information.
2. Does the information identify each student's distinctness as an individual? For example, name, parents' occupations, and other identifying information meet this criterion; more important, however, are those items which describe the student's unique personality—items found in anecdotal records, personality inventories of various kinds, observations, and reports of interviews.
3. Will it be used? For example, even though comprehensive health reports are required from entering students, the information is useless unless the college has competent personnel to utilize the report.
4. Will the student ultimately see the relation between the information he gives about himself and the reason it is requested? Obviously, students may not at the time of admission understand the reasons for the college's request for some types of information—parents' schooling, for example. But if, during the college experience, the usefulness of this item of information is apparent

to the student as an aid to his ability to direct himself maturely, then the information meets the fourth criterion.

This director of admissions also outlined the types of information the college should have. He listed the items according to the factors in student adjustment with which the college, according to its philosophy of education, was concerned, as follows:

I. Information about the individual student

A. The individual as an organism

1. Health record and health background
 - 1.1. Inheritable diseases and predisposition to diseases (such as tuberculosis)
 - 1.2. History of communicable diseases, past injuries, illnesses, and health history
 - 1.3. Attitudes of family toward health practices, diseases in family, general hygiene of family living, etc.
 - 1.4. Attitudes of family toward organic deficiency of student (or other member of the family)
2. Present health of student
 - 2.1. Organic defects and diseases
 - 2.2. Rate of energy output (B.M.R.)
 - 2.3. Indication of physiological maturity (menarche for girls; pubic hair rating for boys)
 - 2.4. Height
 - 2.5. Weight
 - 2.6. Vision
 - 2.7. Hearing
 - 2.8. Temperature, pulse, and blood pressure
 - 2.9. Posture
 - 2.10. Body mechanics: glands, ears, nose, throat, lungs, heart, abdomen, genito-urinary, and anal regions
 - 2.11. Teeth condition
 - 2.12. Laboratory reports: urinalysis, blood count, and (if possible) chest X-ray and Wassermann test
 - 2.13. Doctor's remedial and prophylactic suggestions
 - 2.14. Health practices of student
3. Attitude of student toward his health and health knowledge
 - 3.1. Attitude toward his own health and toward his experience affecting his health
 - 3.2. Attitude toward the value of healthful living
 - 3.3. Knowledge about his health condition
 - 3.4. Knowledge of how to live healthfully (in terms of

his own physiological condition and of society as a whole)

B. *The individual in his social relationships*

1. Affective relationships

- 1.1. With members of the family, particularly with mother
- 1.2. With age peers of the same sex
- 1.3. With age peers of the opposite sex
- 1.4. With adults outside of the family (in school, church, with friends of parents, etc.)

2. "Belonging" relationships

- 2.1. With age peers of the same sex
- 2.2. With age peers of the opposite sex
- 2.3. With social groups generally (school, church, playground, gang, etc.)

3. Other factors affecting social relationships

- 3.1. Social skills
- 3.2. Extent of social experience
- 3.3. Cultural pattern of the individual in terms of social relationships (family ties, number of close friends, intimacy of relationships, etc.)

C. *The individual as an emerging personality*

1. Important life-goals (values which motivate and important attitudes which color experiences and determine them)
2. Ability to think objectively about himself
3. Sense of personal worth

D. *Cultural pattern of the individual*

1. Cultural background of family

- 1.1. Class mobility or stability
- 1.2. Attitude of family toward schooling
- 1.3. Religious beliefs of family
- 1.4. Social life of family
- 1.5. Occupational, educational, and financial condition of family
- 1.6. Nationality, city of residence, and size of family
- 1.7. Emotional atmosphere in home (presence of conflicts between parents or between siblings)
- 1.8. Social life of family
- 1.9. Reading, out-of-door, and religious activities and interests of family

2. Cultural pattern of the student

- 2.1. Points of similarity with family pattern
- 2.2. Points of expressed conflict with family cultural pattern

- 2.3. Knowledge of the nature of social relationships held by student, i.e., knowledge of social stratification, knowledge of nature of social pattern, etc.
- 3. Relationship between cultural pattern of the student and his experience in meeting growth tasks
 - 3.1. Intrinsic factors demanding adjustment (e.g., health factors, limited social experience, sharp conflict between culture of home and of school)
 - 3.2. Extrinsic factors demanding adjustment (class mobility of family, only child attending college, only one of social group attending college)
- E. *Specific academic preparation for, and progress in, college*
 - 1. High school record
 - 2. Entrance tests
 - 3. Supplementary tests during college
 - 4. Teachers' grades and comments during college
- II. *Information about the students as a group*
 - A. *Academic area* (range of scholastic aptitude, range of academic knowledge, homogeneity and heterogeneity of interests, intellectual and esthetic interests and achievements, etc.)
 - B. *Health area* (types of health problems, amount of health knowledge, health attitudes, etc.)
 - C. *Vocational area* (range of vocational interests, trends in vocational interests, strength of vocational goals [persistence], etc.)
 - D. *Religious area* (range of church affiliations, nature of life-goals by largest number, incidence of agnostics, degree of homogeneity, etc.)
 - E. *Home area* (culture pattern of homes of our students—similarities and range of dissimilarities, incidence of problems with family, etc.)
 - F. *Personal area* (types of personal problems students have, sources of them, etc.)
 - G. *Financial area* (number self-supporting, attitudes toward money, predominant financial status, etc.)
- III. *Information about the college*
 - A. Explicit ("explicit" information about the college's program, purposes, ideals, and problems are expressed in college student publications, faculty minutes, the catalog, alumni bulletins, newspaper and church paper stories, and the like. These are not always "aimed" at increasing the understanding by the student of his college or at the understanding by the teacher of the kind of environment to which his students are interacting. For our present purpose, therefore, this explicit information should be reinterpreted so that student and

teacher alike will understand the kinds of forces which are affecting student growth).

B. Implicit information about the college can be derived only by participation actively in the work of the college, by contact with faculty and students. This is the essence of an institution, its "spirit," which differentiates it.

College Y, on the other hand, seeing the fine work which College X had done and admiring particularly its ten-page entrance-information blank, borrowed the blank, item for item. Then they wondered what to do with this extensive information! It fitted no pattern at College Y; much of it was unused, and some of it unusable on this campus.

This lengthy illustration is justified by the importance of the principle that the materials of counseling must be indigenous to the college which uses them. This principle has been repeatedly demonstrated in the work of the cooperating colleges. Personnel materials as such have no sanctity. They must be means to ends. And until these ends—the objectives of the college and the more specific objectives of the counseling program—are precisely defined and accepted by those who do the counseling work, materials cannot readily be developed to achieve them. For this reason, no additional examples of the countless forms, blanks, records, and the like, are included in this report. We include, however, by way of illustration, the kinds of materials that one college used in writing up case studies. These materials represent the kinds of informational resources that would be available on this campus:

High school record
Questionnaire for entering students
Individual profile chart showing scores on
 American Council Psychological Examination
 Cooperative English Test
Profile of Sheviakov Interest Index, 8.2a
Health Inventory Summary
Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations (P-SI)
Inventory of General Life-Goals
Autobiographical themes
Report on interviews
Written observations of instructors

Report of conference by counselor with instructors²

Inventory of Social Understanding

Report of "case conference" when counseling committee² discussed each student reported on.

Standards of Ethics in Counseling

When counselors have close friendships with students, a code of ethics is vitally important to the development and maintenance of this good faith. More than that, the basic respect for other human beings which undergirds and justifies all counseling calls for rigid adherence to ethical standards. Violation of confidences, gossiping about students, invidious comparisons, unwise use of personnel information—these practices vitiate any counseling program. Intellectually all agree that ethical standards are essential—in fact, the gossipers usually are, humanly enough, the very ones who proclaim most bitterly about those who gossip! Emotionally, it is extremely difficult *not* to utilize confidences wantonly or carelessly, especially by those faculty members whose insecurity often drives them to get status among colleagues by indicating, subtly, that students have told them thus and so about themselves or other teachers.

In keeping with the philosophy of the Study, one feasible method for guarding against inadvertent mischief or real moral harm which might be done by unethical counselors is to air the question in a general faculty meeting. How may ethical standards be evolved? What standards do we subscribe to? Then the standards finally arrived at through group deliberation more likely will represent group thinking and will result in group adherence to them.

Standards are needed, first of all, regarding the use of personnel information, such as health reports, intelligence test scores, and family backgrounds. Only when the welfare of the group demands the divulgence of personnel information should it be made known and then *only* through channels which protect the personality of the individual concerned. The best general principle to follow in assuring protection to all is *never to talk unprofessionally about a student's personnel record.*

²These two types of information are not available in this college for all students.

Standards are needed, secondly, to prescribe the attitude of the counselor toward the student's family. In smaller communities, many counselors have interlocking relations with the student's parents in church, business, recreational, and community life. Suppose that James confides to his counselor that his father is being unfaithful to his wife and that the discord in the home accounts in part for James's scholastic difficulties. Let us assume, further, that the counselor is active in the church which James's family attends, a church which takes ecclesiastical action in cases of infidelity. What should James's counselor do? The usual answer is "Retain the confidence unless James grants permission to use it." Even then, James's growth should be the prime consideration: will divulgence even with his permission enhance his development? The counseling relation must be kept sacred to the service of the student; it must not be either judicial or investigative for community or religious standards.

A third area in which standards are needed involves intra-campus relations. Information or attitudes relating to the counselor's colleagues or about other students must be kept inviolate, except for the common good and should then only be used through appropriate administrative channels. One well-meaning dean of administration was interested in how students were reacting to a new teacher. He, therefore, asked two counselors with advisees from the teacher's classes to find out, if possible, how she was doing. In another college, one counselor was requested to interview students taking a particular course in an effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the teacher! Such practices are generally abhorred as nefarious uses of counseling.

Counseling by Students

Many of the present programs of counseling by students originated in Big Sister or Big Brother plans by YWCA, YMCA, student council, or faculty organizations. To each new student a Big Sister or Big Brother is assigned to facilitate his orientation to the college environment. The chief function of the upper-class student is to provide a protective induction of the newcomer into campus rites, living conditions, customs, and traditions. The plan arises from a desire to welcome new students in

a personal, friendly manner. Big Brother helps Little Brother through summer correspondence, by meeting him at the train, by seeing that he finds rooming and eating accommodations, by helping him get acquainted, by assisting him through the labyrinth of registration procedures, and in other ways by cushioning his arrival to a new situation.

Some colleges prolong the program well into the school year instead of desisting after the initial freshman week. They have found that some upper-class students seem singularly effective in such matters as providing new students with needed security, with assistance in learning study skills, and with minimizing the need for much of the harum-scarum, attention-getting behavior so frequently manifested by newcomers. Colleges have found, too, that some students who act as counselors secure educational values from their experience.

The question has arisen, therefore, "If counseling by students has educational values for both new students and old, how can a program be worked out to systematize and insure the value of these efforts?" A common answer among colleges of the Study is a system of counseling by selected upperclassmen, trained over a period of a month to a year, who are assigned several freshmen as advisees for their entire freshman year.

The services of these programs of counseling by students have two purposes: (1) to supplement the counseling efforts of busy faculty members who are thus freed from some of the less specialized and more routine counseling duties; and (2) to perform unique counseling functions.

SELECTION OF PERSONNEL

The experience of the Study emphasizes the necessity of carefully selecting and training the students who are to be counselors. The criteria for selection of student-counselors have been variously defined but tend to include the following:

1. Members of the junior or senior class. (Sometimes sophomores are used on the grounds, first, that since they will be in college for three more years, their training will be better utilized; and, second, that they are better able to assist freshmen since

they have themselves so recently gone through the process of adjustment to college.)

2. Better than average scholastic standing.
3. Loyalty to the objectives, traditions, and principles of the college.
4. Superior mental health as manifested particularly in excellent social adjustments to campus life.
5. Discretion in keeping confidences, using personnel information, and the like.
6. Willingness to participate actively in the counseling program for values received (not for the "honor" or prestige that may be connected with it).

Persons who qualify on the basis of such criteria are selected in different ways. In some colleges, student-counselors are appointed by a joint student-faculty committee; in others, each dormitory or residence hall elects advisers who in turn appoint a chairman; others elect the chairman who, in turn, selects counselors. There seems to be a strong tendency for retiring counselors to select their successors, a selection procedure which has the advantage of capitalizing upon the experience of those who have already acted as advisers for a year or more.

TRAINING PROGRAMS

A significant advance in counseling by students has been the development of extensive training programs. The introduction of training is the final recognition by the colleges that student-counselors may perform unique functions of value to their own educational experience as well as to that of the counselees. To realize these potentialities, counselors need to understand more completely a system of concepts which explains human behavior; they need to know the values and limitations of personnel materials, such as tests, inventories, rating scales, and health records; they must, in short, be led to see that the laboratory in living which is the campus community may be structured and understood more accurately when certain concepts and techniques are known.

At Antioch College, the training program consists in part of a

seminar in Counseling Methods for Hall Advisers. The hall advisers are selected by their predecessors; since no faculty members live in the halls, the responsibilities of the two advisers assigned to each hall are necessarily greater than for most student-counselors. The purpose of the seminar is "to study the methods actually used by hall advisers in dealing with (a) group situations, and (b) individual situations; and to consider their effectiveness and ways of improving them." The seminar is taught by the dean of students and his assistant.

As a method of procedure, each adviser prepares two reports for discussion by the class, one dealing with a group situation and one with an individual case. In chapter iv, the report of one student is used in connection with the discussion of sociometric techniques for understanding group interaction. The insights and knowledge about the *individual in a group* displayed by this report are significant indications of increased personal resources to draw upon as hall adviser. Other students reported in detail their observations and interpretations of the behavior of a single individual.

One student attempted to understand the dynamics of group interaction by recording all of the remarks in a hall meeting when decisions were made and then, later, studying this record for indications of how the decision was made. The adviser concludes, "Here is one group situation that has begun by everyone throwing the blame (for noise in the hall) on the others. When one of the girls points out that all are equally responsible, the situation changes. They begin to see the broader concepts of hall responsibility. They agree to shoulder the responsibility. . . . The problem related simply to a decision which did not involve a rule but rather a method of cooperation. Each was made conscious of her responsibility in carrying out the solution. The hall advisers did not comment during this discussion."

This process of change in group attitude may be broken down into the following steps as they occurred at this meeting:

1. Problem presented by second-floor girl
2. No one will take the blame
3. President offers two alternatives: (a) courtesy; (b) set quiet hours
4. Accusations of one student by another

5. All are guilty: accepted as fair judgment
6. Agreed no rules or study hours needed, but cooperation and everyone feeling responsible to respect the needs of others for quiet for study would help
7. Agree to try again; everyone to cooperate

The final result in this situation was proof that students *can*, without interference and with the proper conditions and guidance, develop suitable ability to run their own lives.

The broad objective of the Antioch program is to train student-counselors to observe the dynamics of group and of individual behavior, to see the relation between a single student and his group, and to study the ways in which counseling procedures may prevent, as well as remedy, maladjustments in order to improve the opportunities for each student to grow in ways commensurate with his needs and abilities.

At some colleges, student-counselors meet weekly or biweekly during the spring quarter or semester in a training program consisting of discussions about the techniques and philosophy of personnel work by psychologists, the personnel director, the clinicians, and other persons. Experience has shown that such training programs are most effective when (1) objectives are clearly stated, especially when students participate in their development; (2) the needs of the student-counselors are determined as precisely as possible—needs for information, attitudes, skills, beliefs, and interests; (3) the program is adapted to these needs; and (4) the program is continually evaluated. This four-step approach tends to insure a program which is neither above the heads of student-counselors by asking them to perform functions legitimately restricted to the work of faculty counselors nor unrelated to the needs of students as the student-counselors see these needs. It is not inappropriate, in other words, to warn educators of the fallacy of expecting the student-counseling program to duplicate or take up the slack in the faculty-counseling program. Student-counselors have a unique function to fulfill.

This unique function, as stated by McCully, may be seen in sociological as well as psychological terms:

Counseling by upperclassmen will facilitate learning of newer elements of the peer culture of the campus by incoming freshmen. This

will hasten the acceptance of freshmen into social membership of groups of upper-class students. . . . Learning the peer culture and being accepted by peers is more important to adolescents than is the learning of adult culture and acceptance by adults.

Counseling by upperclassmen will assist in personalizing the college environment. . . .³

The training programs for student-counselors are thus directed toward systematizing, structuring, and in other ways improving the use of the unique position that older or upper-class students have in the college environment.

VALUES OF COUNSELING BY STUDENTS

There are three sorts of values that may accrue from an effective program of counseling by students: values to (1) the counselee; (2) the counselors, and (3) the institutional program.

1. The value to students being counseled inheres in the general relation stated by McCully. A fellow-student has a relation that is important in the life of the new student. Many adjustments to college life are rooted in peer relations, not faculty or other adult relations. One student can do and say things that have an effectiveness in changing behavior greater than may be achievable by professional counselors. As one psychologist stated it: "Older students can be used therapeutically; for example, one girl refused to 'open up' to me. Always it was 'Yes, Mr. L; yes, Mr. L.' Her roommate (her only girl friend on the campus) did help her by talking with her at great length, giving her a confidence in herself she might not otherwise have gained."

Values to counseled students specifically include (a) hastened orientation to the new environment—learning the traditions and customs, the physical lay-out, the names and jobs of various faculty members, the systems of the social life; (b) a stronger sense of belonging, of being welcomed and wanted, of being accepted as a worthy person having a unique personality—a feeling which is the exact opposite of a common attitude expressed by upperclassmen in hazing, ridiculing, and psychologically rejecting newcomers to the group. Improved feelings of belonging tend to decrease homesickness and wild attempts to assert themselves

³C. Harold McCully, "Student Counseling by Students," "Fellowship Report to the University of Denver," July 1941, p. 6.

by those who are freed perhaps for the first time from a restricted home environment; such feelings also tend to increase stability, a calm appraisal of the job to be done in college by each individual, and a willingness to grow in directions encouraged by the college. As has been stated before, the adolescent may be tense because of his critical experience in achieving some of his developmental tasks—improvement in boy-girl relations or development of a philosophy of life. The student-counselor, as another student, may allay unwelcome fears, provide an assurance, and stimulate a freedom which combine to reduce tension and encourage the steady progress toward worthy goals by the new student.

2. The values to the counselors themselves are not incidental or unimportant. For those interested in social welfare work, teaching, the ministry, psychology, and similar occupations, the job of student-counselor has obvious vocational implications.

Apart from these, however, are the values to the student-counselor's personal growth. Student-counselors, when asked to state what values to their personal development their experience has contributed, wrote such statements as these:

I learned more about people and how to get along better with them.

I gained a clearer understanding of how our college is run and the meaning of the tests given to freshmen.

I came to a realization of some of the difficulties I had as a freshman.

The personal satisfaction of making it a little easier for one who is being subjected to the same problems I have had. . . .

I have gained a new perspective of life and its complexities by talking over others' problems with them.

These statements suggest growth in self-understanding, in coping with the realities of college life, in clarifying the basis of human relations that bring satisfactions, in feelings of being a worthy, valued person, and in social outlooks of an unselfish kind. As in all counseling relations, the process of interaction is two-way in its effects, having potential values for both counselor and counselee.

3. The values to the institutional program are patent. In spite of the fact that the student-counselor program should be introduced to fulfill unique functions, and not to be primarily of assistance to busy faculty members, student-counselors oil the machinery of the college at many points. At Iowa State College, for example, this statement is made in a summary of evaluation findings:

With regard to orientation, the girls who were advisers to freshmen or transfers had great responsibility. They helped avert homesickness and make the change from high school to college easier. They helped acquaint the new students with house rules, rushing, pledging, and dating customs and with the accepted ways of acting and dressing. They answered questions about teachers, courses, and what to expect in tests. They promoted better study conditions and aided the girls in making out suitable study schedules. They familiarized the girls with the customs and traditions of the college.

Living in a large group, away from home, brought many situations in which advisers were especially good leaders. They gave the girls an incentive to raise their grades, to act with consideration for others, and to have more self-confidence. The advisers also gave evidence of their value in more serious cases, such as illness or difficulties between roommates. On the whole, they *were a great aid to the housemothers in making things run smoothly.*

More important, perhaps, is the contribution to the educational resources of the college made by an active, well-integrated student-counseling program. In colleges where students and faculty share committee responsibility for policy-forming regarding social life, the curriculum, religious activities, standards of living, and the like, the experience of sharing in counseling follows naturally. When an effort is made to incorporate into the total program a personnel point of view, the use of students as counselors is an inevitable implementation of the idea that all aspects of the college—student-student relations as well as student-faculty relations—may be imbued with the counseling approach. The value to the institutional program, therefore, of counseling by students lies primarily in the recognition and implementation of the validity of face-to-face relations as a means of effecting changes in behavior.

III

The Educative Value of Extra-Class Life

THE COLLEGE conventionally divides its program into two broad phases: curricular and extra-curricular, or class and extra-class. The former includes all of the formal instructional program of the college, usually in classrooms and laboratories. The latter customarily refers to activities occurring outside of the classroom which are available to interested students and which are prevailingly engaged in by groups, such as athletic functions, social affairs, musical activities, and dramatic productions.

This chapter will attempt to state the basis on which the cooperating colleges of the Study approach extra-class life. It will also discuss common practices in utilizing this type of experience to effect changes in behavior, the difficulties encountered, and some of the problems needing further study.

Misconceptions of Extra-Class Functions

Before discussing how the cooperating colleges view extra-class life as an educative resource, it may be helpful by way of contrast to discuss three fairly common differing attitudes on this viewpoint.

"NO CONCERN OF THE COLLEGE"

Some institutions maintain that what students do with their time outside of the classroom is of no concern or interest to the college. This attitude assumes that formal education involves only intellectual activity which is unrelated to other aspects of living; in other words, the intellect is an entity which can be trained apart from other entities such as emotions and feelings, much as one's leg muscles can be enlarged by cycling twenty miles a day.

In such an institution students tend to see little relation between classroom experience and their total development. As someone said, "Even though we may teach students in social science to talk a good game of democracy, they are still able only to talk a good game." Generally, it is only by a fortuitous similarity between experience in the classroom and experience out of it that learning affects living.

This attitude imposes a limitation upon the range of resources utilized in the education of the student. The teaching job done may still be adequate enough in terms of what it legitimately sets out to do—such as to impart information, to clarify ideas, to stimulate thinking; but such teaching ignores such vital matters as *who* is being taught, *how* the teaching *relates* to students' problems and interests, or *how* the classroom experience is affected by what goes on in the dormitory, on the gridiron, or at campus social affairs. When teachers wear blinders that limit their perspective of student life to the special experience of the classroom, they cannot teach as effectively as when they view the classroom experience as part of a total college experience.

"A NECESSARY EVIL"

Other colleges take the point of view that extra-class activities are necessary evils which lively students are bound to engage in. Since such inevitable activities may impair the reputation of the college, decrease the amount of time for study, or in other ways affect academic proficiency, the most sensible attitude to take is that they must be controlled by the college. The assumption is made that extra-class life is not educative—at least in ways which interest the educational institution. In keeping with such a need to *control* the out-of-classroom life of students, some colleges, for example, are forced to concoct a highly complicated and ingenious system of social rules and regulations. For instance, students must be in their rooms by ten o'clock; lights are turned out for freshmen at ten-fifteen; for sophomores at ten-thirty; for juniors at eleven o'clock; seniors, having attained the age of twenty-two and the self-control and sense of responsibility which will enable them to regulate their lives in such a way that they will still be academically proficient, have no set time for turning out lights. The issue

in such colleges is not, "What educational purposes are served by rules?" The issue rather is, "What controls must we as faculty members and administrators exert over the lives of students in order to compel them to be more proficient in class?" Such extra-class activities as athletics, parties, YMCA, and subject-matter clubs are provided at the insistence—or so it would seem—of students who, according to this point of view, must be rigidly supervised even in such activities.

The net effect of this concept upon students seems to be to provoke some resentment, much as a child feels resentful when he asks for candy and his parents say, "Oh well, rather than put up with your tantrums, here is some candy." The effect upon teachers is that of resigned tolerance. Faculty members "take their turns" chaperoning student dances; these are chores that "go with the teaching contract." Extra-class life is thought to have little relation to educational objectives. Finally, there is no room in this attitude for shared experience whereby students and faculty may plan and execute policies regarding extra-class life so as to create conditions leading to improved social development among students.

"A HELPFUL ADJUNCT"

A third and probably more common attitude is that although extra-class activities have little or no important educative purpose or value, they nevertheless help to round out the student's experience. Proponents of this point of view see in extra-class activities a helpful adjunct to classroom experience which enables students to let off steam in socially acceptable ways; they provide, as in the case of departmental clubs, an incentive to classroom performance; they supplement certain aspects of classroom experience by meeting needs for religious, aesthetic, and social experiences that are recognized as essential but are not appropriate to the classroom program itself. For these and a number of other reasons the optimist of the faculty or administrative staff generally approves of extra-curricular activities. He is willing to supervise extra-class activities. He encourages counselees to participate extensively in activities which interest them. In addition, he sees value in the extra-curricular program in selling the college to the public; for example, the debate teams can speak before the Rotary Club with

value both to the college and to the debaters; the athletes, in addition to getting good physical exercise which whets the mind, may bring in funds to equip laboratories and to buy books.

An Educative Resource

The central question in such attitudes is, "What is curriculum?" Those who view extra-class life as no concern of the college answer this question by saying, "The curriculum consists of formal instruction in the classroom." Those who say nonclassroom activity is a necessary evil grudgingly recognize a possible relation between class and extra-class life but insist that the curriculum is still formal classroom instruction. Even those who take the "helpful adjunct" point of view are blinded by the traditional conception of the curriculum, although they tend at least to see extra-class life as a *parallel* educational experience; the value in campus experience outside the classroom is incidental and important only as it feeds into the classroom activities.

The cooperating colleges tend to answer the question "What is curriculum?" altogether differently. They assert that all college-controlled activities may be educationally valuable. Because the colleges are increasingly interested in the total growth and development of the student, they recognize the importance of both class and extra-class experiences. What John learns in his social science course, for example, about the concepts, history, and problems of democracy is essential to his growth toward more effective citizenship. Also what John learns by applying democratic concepts to actual present relations in the dormitory, in campus politics, and in working with faculty members is essential to his growth toward more effective citizenship. Whether or not the dormitories are operated democratically, whether or not campus community life is organized according to democratic tenets, whether or not John may share with faculty members in a democratic fashion in planning and executing policies and procedures—these issues have educational importance. Their resolution determines in large measure how effective will be John's study of democracy in the social science class.

Class and extra-class life are thus equally essential education-

ally. The cooperating colleges are saying, "All that the student experiences has relevance to his growth as a person; all experiences, therefore, that the college may control or influence are curricular." Every effort is accordingly being made to include extra-class activities in the curriculum. The fissure which traditionally separates the functions, purposes, and values of class and extra-class experiences is being gradually closed.

The basis for such thinking is clear. The postulates of organic psychology and sociology indicate, for example, the unitary nature of the organism. The student in the class in English who has roommate trouble or who has just been elected fraternity president is influenced by these experiences in his classroom response. Because the organism is a unit, its experiences—in class or out of class—are inevitably interrelated and mutually interactive.

An increasing number of faculty members and students accept the idea that education should influence total development. Students need to develop information, skills, abilities, interests, and beliefs as personal resources in living the good life (however a college defines it). Such resources are improved in both class and extra-class life. To ignore the educative potency of nonclassroom experiences is to be blind to rich, meaningful experiences. After all, the classroom is an artificial learning situation; but life in a dormitory is a genuine learning experience. Most learning throughout life occurs in just such real, spontaneous situations as are found in extra-class activities.

To return to a previous example: democratic processes studied in the "unnatural" setting of the classroom may remain intellectualized concepts of little utility to the student's ability to live as an effective citizen; but democratic processes, studied in class and then applied, worked with, and struggled with in campus politics, in dormitory life, in selecting fraternity pledges, and in a host of similar vital situations become real, dynamic, life-changing processes. The combination of class and extra-class experiences, when these are integrated in ways we shall presently discuss, seems more likely to provide the total complement of personal resources: information from class experience is mediated by beliefs arising from extra-class life, and vice versa; extra-class interests become re-

fined, organized, and built into strong personal assets through classroom experiences, and vice versa. Total development demands a unity in the educational program which our traditional, dichotomous "class and extra-class" division does not provide. This need is being satisfied in the cooperating colleges by their inclusive definition of the curriculum.

From such a point of view as this, therefore, the distinction between curriculum and extra-curriculum is nonexistent; the distinction we make between class and extra-class activities is merely for convenience in designating roughly two aspects of the college program. In actual fact, there is no difference between the two in such respects as function, purpose, value, and importance to growth.

Conditions To Meet When Extra-Class Life Is Curricular

In working toward a fully integrated program of class and extra-class activities, the cooperating colleges have found that certain conditions are necessary. These conditions may be stated as (1) a flexible organization of extra-class life, (2) a program of continual evaluation, and (3) continuous student-faculty participation in planning and executing policies. Each of these conditions will be briefly explained and illustrated.

A FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATION

A necessary characteristic of the program to utilize extra-class life educationally is a flexible organization. The cooperating colleges have found that rigidity of organization in extra-class life impedes progress by preventing needed changes, by overvaluing the *status quo*, and by reducing the objectivity with which students and faculty work.

By a rigid organization of extra-class activities is meant that the activities comprising extra-class life are sanctioned through a long history; alumni join with students in insisting upon them (fraternities or intercollegiate football, for example). Since for many years the extra-class program has belonged primarily to students, any proposed change and any questioning of the educational value of the activity are fiercely resisted. Methods of initiating

newcomers to the campus, such social functions as the homecoming dance, certain traditions, such as crowning the campus queen, have become sacrosanct. Neither students nor faculty can easily study the true value of such activities—they feel too strongly about them. The organization is rigid; it must be retained intact. In the experience of the colleges, such an attitude, if it prevails, makes students and faculty alike impervious to improvement.

Experience shows that a flexibility in organization is essential. No activity is then seen to be good in itself; it is only good as a means to an end. When the ends are of educational value, the activity is retained; when not, the activity is discarded. Such an attitude arises from persistent, frank evaluation of extra-class life and steady progress in thinking of the total college experience in educational terms.

Flexible organization probably is intimately related to the satisfactions students find in present extra-class activities. Thus, in one college, students became dissatisfied with the class hierarchy and social cliquishness resulting from the fraternity system. It was not compatible with their beliefs about or satisfactions in more democratic social activities. Accordingly, these students abolished fraternities. Significantly enough, the faculty provided the atmosphere in which such a step could be taken. These students had no need to preserve the fraternity as an "escape" from faculty imposition and authority. There was no need arising in campus conditions for students to cling to something "completely their own." Faculty and students on this campus shared in the development of a satisfying community life. Students "owned" the college as much as did the faculty. When the issue of undemocratic activities was frankly faced, the fraternities were found wanting—and were consequently abolished.

A PROGRAM OF CONTINUAL EVALUATION

As a necessary ingredient in the program of utilizing extra-class life as an educative resource, continual evaluation has many values and serves several purposes simultaneously. To evaluate is to ascertain the degree to which objectives are being realized.

Objectives, according to the thinking of the Study, may be seen as the changes in student behavior which we hope to induce

through the educational experience. In extra-class life these changes may involve such abilities as getting along with people or communicating ideas precisely, such *skills* as playing on a team or playing an instrument, such *interests* as will stimulate broad reading or provide vital understanding of important socio-civic problems. Such operational definitions of the behavior we wish students to manifest are realistic objectives which enable a college to see more clearly what the extra-class program should do for students.

Evaluation also is a necessary condition because, once objectives are defined in terms of behavior, ways must be developed to measure whether changes are occurring as a result of extra-class participation. Colleges need to know, therefore, what modifications in behavior—what learning—results from living in a dormitory, from attending departmental club meetings, or from singing in the glee club. One college formulated two questions as the basis for their evaluation program: (1) What are the purposes and objectives of each extra-class activity? (2) How well are these purposes being fulfilled and attained?

To answer these questions, the cooperating colleges have been doing such things as (a) merely listing all the extra-class activities on the campus; (b) securing statements from students regarding the values they found in each extra-class activity; (c) determining through time-studies the relative values attached to various activities as indicated by students' voluntary distribution of their time to them; (d) securing statements from each campus organization as to its purposes and how the organization planned to accomplish them; (e) assessing specific values to student growth of each extra-class activity on the basis of faculty observation, armchair deductions, and other subjective judgment. Out of a variety of such efforts the college evolves tentative notions of the specific changes in behavior being induced by extra-class life.

Having determined potential values, colleges then need to know the extent to which these potential values are being realized. The question now is: What social and cultural advantages are actually derived from fraternities? Does playing on a team develop sportsmanship? Does singing in a glee club increase aesthetic apprecia-

tion? Does dormitory life promote tolerance, increase "belonging," and so forth?

Methods of measurement are needed to suggest the extent of such changes in behavior. In determining the extent to which students are acquiring information, the task of measurement is relatively easy: objective tests of information are available or can be developed. But measuring changes in such intangibles as aesthetic appreciation, skill in human relations, democratic attitudes, or beliefs is not simple. The cooperating colleges have tackled the problem through the use of the inventories, anecdotal records, controlled observation, and other devices; these will be reported later.

STUDENT-FACULTY PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND EXECUTING POLICIES

As has been said before, the traditional dichotomy between class and extra-class life tends to consider the classroom as the bailiwick of the faculty and extra-class life as the chief concern of students. The effects of this dichotomy, in light of the cooperating colleges' experience, are rigidity, conflict, defensiveness, and no improvement.

The concept of the college campus as a community in which the members—students and faculty—share equally in its development and regulation is rooted in many assumptions. For example, the total growth of the student involves growth in leadership, ability to carry responsibility, skill in human relations—all the kinds of growth, in fact, which inhere naturally in the give-and-take of community living. The development of the student's personality may be a function, in part at least, of campus attitudes and habits: If he is colored, ugly, lame, fat, is he valued or rejected? If the student is awkward, shy, withdrawn, is he provided with experiences that draw him out and establish self-confidence? If he is capable, a leader, well adjusted, is he challenged by the exigencies of campus living to capitalize on these potentials? Such considerations and concepts as these when related to what the college is trying to do have encouraged many of the cooperating colleges to increase student-faculty participation in community planning and living.

The transition from "faculty versus students" to faculty-student participation in the regulation of extra-class social affairs on one campus is a good illustration of the changes that are occurring. For example, originally a faculty committee on the social program, with a subcommittee on dancing, supervised all organized social life on the campus. Their functions were principally, as one faculty member put it, "to put the brakes on dancing, to establish rules and see to it that they were enforced." Needless to say, students resented this imposition of authority and their inability to share in the planning and regulation of a program so vital to their interests. However, as the faculty began to realize the educative possibilities in student participation in the government which controlled them, they revised the system of faculty committees. An equal number of students and faculty members were selected and charged with the function of policy-forming regarding social life. They raised such questions as, "Are the needs of all students being satisfied by our present social program? What present regulations are necessary? Why? What ones are unnecessary? Why?" Their approach was constructive and exploratory. After a time, the personnel of the committee made another change: one-third of the committee now represented the faculty; two-thirds, the students.

This transition in the attitude of students and faculty is also indicative of growth in democratic community living. Initially, students on the social program committee were there with a chip on their shoulders "to see justice done." To be chosen for membership was a coveted honor among those who, in adolescent fashion, were eager to assert their adulthood. Gradually, however, as the work of the committee involved more and more constructive planning and policy-forming, the lure of the job waned for the boldly aggressive and appealed more to those campus leaders whose maturity was more marked. At present, the student council no longer appoints a student representative to the committee (who in turn selects other students); instead, each living unit on the campus selects one representative. The entire committee meets weekly for two hours. This arrangement utilizes the need for social regulation as an educative experience for these student representatives and, in turn, for all students in the living units who, through their

representatives, transmit their interests, needs, and suggestions to the committee.

Identifying and Meeting Common Needs

THE USE OF INVENTORIES

All of the cooperating colleges have used the inventory approach in identifying common (group) needs¹ of students. We may illustrate the varieties of uses by citing some of the experiences of these colleges with three different inventories.

1. *Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations* (P-S1).² At the University of Louisville the P-S1 inventory was administered to a sampling of freshmen, men and women, in order to identify areas of unfulfilled interest (in personal-social activities) with which the college is concerned. The responses of the group to the inventory items were compared with those of students in thirteen other colleges and specifically with those in three colleges which differed markedly from the university in general organization.

In general, the areas which "this study spots as needing most attention for freshman women are Faculty Relations³ (with students), Social Service, Leadership and Initiative, and Social Skills in that order."⁴ For freshman men, ". . . we have this pattern: The greatest tension, represented by low activity and high interest, is in Social Service, Leadership and Initiative, and in Faculty Relations. The greatest sense of difficulty (as indicated by the highest number of concerns checked on the inventory as of major or minor importance) is in Social Experience, Opposite Sex, and Faculty Relations."⁵

Although at the time of this report the university had not speci-

¹ Common, or group, needs are simply those which occur in individuals with sufficient frequency to warrant group methods to satisfy them—for example, using an orientation course to satisfy the needs of newcomers to a campus. Group needs may conveniently be discussed separately from individual needs because, to a large extent, the procedures in identifying and satisfying the need are different; the need itself—say, the need for social skill in meeting people—may be the same for the group or for the individual.

² See chap. iv, pp. 173-224, for an explanation of this inventory.

³ For an explanation of these categories see pp. 180-90.

⁴ From a report made by Charles F. Virtue to the faculty, University of Louisville, in April 1944, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

fied its answer to the questions: "What needs are manifested by these responses? What improvements in practice can we effect?" the following were listed by Virtue as the chief general conclusions from these and other data: "(a) The clearest outcome is the unfavorable data on Student-Faculty relations; (b) the relatively low status of Leadership and Initiative Activities, coupled with considerable unsatisfied interest, indicates a need for better organized student activities; and (c) the same observation can be made about social service."⁶

Such conclusions represent value-judgments. The university holds that its educational purposes include the development of close, friendly student-faculty relations; an extra-class program which is so organized that every student has equal opportunity to develop latent qualities of leadership and to develop, in social service activities, the kinds of interests, appreciations, and beliefs which they consider essential in the effective citizen. Thus, the inventory spots needs in relation to these goals of the college; it suggests areas where present practices should be studied, evaluated, and improved.

2. *Inventory of Religious Concepts.* One college administered the Inventory of Religious Concepts to a sampling of the student body in an effort to determine needs related to a variety of aspects of the college program, such as Bible courses, chapel exercises, Religious Emphasis Week, and so forth. Among other things they found that "uncertainties are highest [among these students] in questions dealing with (a) whether or not the Bible contains legendary material; (b) interpretation of miracle stories; (c) the nature of inspiration."⁷

Uncertainties about such matters as these have profound implications for instructors, the dean of the chapel, the college pastor, counselors, and for students and faculty who are organizing extra-class religious experiences. The data obtained from the inventory would also be useful in orienting the guest speaker for Religious Emphasis Week or in determining the topics of YMCA or YWCA discussion meetings. In each instance, the class or extra-class activity would relate specifically to the students' interests

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ Centre College, reported by Jameson Jones in H. B. Dunkel, *General Education in the Humanities*, pp. 108-20.

and concerns. And the educational function of such activities would be relevant to the purposes of the college in influencing the total development of each student.

THE USE OF TIME-STUDY ANALYSES

Another resource in answering the question, "What can we do to identify group needs?" has been a time-study analysis. This analysis assumes that if faculty and students know how time is used out of class, they will be in a better position to tackle such problems as how to enable *all* students to participate in needed extra-class activities, how to ascertain the extent to which extra-class activity is related to class activity, how to explore the areas of student interest in which the college has no organized extra-class program.

In one such time-study a random sample of seventy-six students representing about 18 percent of the student body agreed to keep time-diaries for seven days. One group reported on seven consecutive days; the second group reported on a different day of the week over a period of seven consecutive weeks. The report form for each day consisted of several columns (see Figure 1). In the first column the twenty-four hour period was divided into units of thirty minutes each. In the second column the student indicated by a symbol the type of activity in which he engaged in each thirty-minute period; there were categories such as study, class attendance, laboratory attendance, personal care (eating, grooming), sleep, work, and so on. In the third column the student indicated, when feasible, the specific nature of his activity; thus, if he studied from eight to ten in the evening, he would state the nature of this study by saying, "Outlined chapter of psychology text," "Wrote English theme," "Read Browning's *The Ring and the Book*," and so on. Students indicated in the fourth column, if they so desired, their judgments as to the value of the activities they engaged in; thus, a student might mark class attendance in psychology "tedious"; *The Ring and the Book*, "fascinating"; theme writing, "What's this for?"

The resulting data helped in many ways to identify common needs. For example, the time-study indicated that 75 percent of those living at home spent less than two hours a week in extra-

class activity organized by the college. Dormitory residents, on the other hand, averaged seven hours a week. Private-home residents spent significantly less time than dormitory residents in personal-

| Date _____ | | | |
|--|----------------------|---|-----------|
| 1. Class: F S Jr Sr | 2. Sex: M F | 3. Type of residence _____ | |
| 4. Academic rank: A B C D | | | |
| 5. Major _____ | 6. Code number _____ | 7. Age _____ | |
| Key: S—Study C—Personal care R—Remunerative work Sl—Sleep | | PS—Personal-social activities PI—Personal-interest activities X—Organized extra-curricular activities Cl—Classes or laboratory | |
| Column I | Column II | Column III | Column IV |
| 7:00 A.M. | | | |
| 7:30 | | | |
| 8:00 | | | |
| 8:30 | | | |
| 9:00 | | | |
| 9:30 | | | |

Has this been an average day? Yes _____ No _____
If not, please explain.

FIG. 1.—Time-diary form.

social activities (dating and so forth) either on or off campus. Apparently private-home residents were somehow effectually being

excluded from the total campus program; not by design certainly, but seemingly the student body was so structured that the campus residents constituted a clique which virtually excluded private-home residents from full participation in campus life. Here was a *common* need affecting 60 percent of the student body. Interested faculty and students could work to eliminate it.

DATA FROM ADMISSION APPLICATIONS

Most admission or entrance forms include questions to the new student about (a) his extra-class interests and experiences in high school and (b) his plans for extra-class participation in college. Some colleges have attempted to articulate high school and college life more functionally by acquainting sponsors and other responsible persons in various activities with the names of those having previous experience or interest in their activities. When college students, armed with such lists, contact the newcomer, the latter's orientation is probably improved.

One college was interested in how extra-class activity on the campus could be related to students' vocational goals. Since the entrance data asked for the vocational plans of freshmen, it was easy to find out, for example, that one student in five selected teaching as a first choice. A number of other relevant facts were known: no specific education courses were taken until the junior year; since 50 percent of the seniors were granted teachers' certificates in an average year, the initial interest of students appeared to increase rather than wane; many students, therefore, had decided upon teaching during the first two years; counselors reported that many students were somewhat disturbed about making adequate vocational selections. Finally, because of the way the curriculum for teachers was organized, it was practically necessary to select teaching at the beginning of the junior year—before opportunity for try-out experiences of any kind in courses, nursery school, or in other ways. This series of facts forms a pattern characterized by vocational decision by some, indecision by others, and opportunities for exploratory testing of vocational aptitudes, strength of interest, or adequacy of information *for none*.

This college accordingly felt that the extra-class program might

justifiably include a program of visits to schools, orientation talks, a vocational shelf in the library, the development of a Pre-Teaching Club, and group-testing to determine patterns of ability and interest related to teaching success.

SPONTANEOUS GROUP DELIBERATION

Student and student-faculty informal, even casual, get-togethers are a potent resource in effecting changes in the college program. Many of the cooperating colleges have harnessed this power of spontaneous group deliberation with beneficial effects upon extra-class life; for, as a learning experience, participation in discussions can affect practices in ways which cannot be excelled. During the course of group deliberation common interests, concerns, and attitudes are voiced, their exact meaning determined, and ways of capitalizing upon them in the extra-class program clarified. For the discussants the experience meets the common needs for working with others, for being valued by a group, and for increasing skill in communication. It is the essence of democratic procedure; action occurs only after an uncoerced consensus is reached in the free exchange of ideas, information, and belief. A most significant use of group deliberation which resulted in a sex-education program (described in chapter iv⁸) illustrates the power of this method of democratic practice.

Following are some other common situations in which group deliberation is being used effectively: (1) community council meetings where faculty and students form policies, determine courses of action, and administer penalties; (2) student discussions to develop a constitution for the student government; (3) monthly "fireside" sessions in faculty homes, principally related to the religious emphasis of the college; (4) once each student generation, re-thinking through and re-determining campus social policies and plans in student-faculty discussions; (5) evolving a program of counseling by students; (6) conducting fact-finding polls as a basis for changes in social, health, and recreational programs; (7) discussing matters involving curricular reorganization, for example, "What is a general education?"

⁸ See pp. 83-94.

CHANGE IN ORGANIZATION

At Stephens College, extra-class activities have long been recognized as important educative resources in the growth of the student. Far from being auxiliary, the extra-class program is integral. This integration is expressed in the over-all organization of the college. Dean Weldon P. Shofstall describes it as follows:

In the complete program of guidance at Stephens College, first consideration is given to the coordination and promotion of all activities toward the recognized goal. This responsibility is in the hands of the Guidance Council. This council has thirteen members who are selected as representative of the various aspects of the guidance program. Chairman of the council and general director of the total program is the Dean of Administration of the college. Sitting in the council with the Dean of Administration is an administrative assistant, a technical assistant, the guidance consultant, and the registrar. Additional members of the council are the Director of Admissions, the Chairman of the Advisers' Council, the Director of the Division of Religion and Philosophy, the Dean of Instruction, the Chairman of the Hall Counselors, the Director of the Extra-Class Division, the Chairman of the Clinic Council, the Director of the Health Division, and a representative parent.

As common needs have been identified, new facilities have been added to cope more effectively with them. For example, a course in leadership training at Stephens was added for those students who as juniors were elected to responsible positions in a variety of organizations for their senior year.⁹ The reasons given for this course and some indication of its content are stated as follows:

The College has long recognized the educative importance of the out-of-class experiences of students. As a result, two significant developments have occurred: (1) a highly organized Extra-Class Division for the co-ordination and direction of most of the student's nonacademic experiences, and (2) a program of educational training in the residence halls under the direction of full-time residence counselors especially trained for their work.

In the administration of out-of-class programs, large numbers of students assume responsibilities of leadership which offer a variety of experiences for personal development. Such delegation of responsi-

⁹At Stephens, a junior college, the junior year corresponds to the conventional first year of the four-year program.

bility, however, whether appointive or elective, highlights the need for training in the responsibilities of leadership. To meet the need the hall counselors have undertaken an experimental instructional program, which includes class instruction as well as group conference and personal guidance. With the cooperation of the psychology and social studies staffs, three units of instruction have been set up. Through satisfactory completion of these units, the students may earn three hours of college credit.

Unit One is an intensive eight weeks course, offered each spring for the newly elected officers who assume their duties at the beginning of the following school year. This course is taught by residence counselors. It is directed toward a careful self-analysis on the part of each student and is based on the theory that before one can work successfully with others he must understand himself. The unit also includes a study of various types of adjustment problems with which the students will soon be dealing in their actual experience as student leaders.

Unit Two is a semester course in the psychology of leadership, offered in the fall semester for students who hold responsible positions of leadership on campus. In this course, which is taught by members of the psychology staff, typical student behavior problems are discussed, emphasis being placed on understanding the causes of behavior and the necessity for treating causes rather than symptoms.

Unit Three is a semester course, following Unit Two, and is taught by members of the social studies staff. Its purpose is to acquaint student leaders with the broader aspects of leadership as adult citizens and the opportunities for such leadership in community living. The course is being presented for the first time this year. [1943-44.]

In addition to the training program outlined above, the College conducts a three-day Leadership Conference each year preceding the opening of school. During this period, officers of major student groups meet with their faculty sponsors and other staff members to perfect plans for the year's work.

The leadership training program is, at present, reaching 250¹⁰ student leaders. Most of the elements of the program, however, are still "on trial." All that can be said is that results appear to justify the time and effort required and that the group responsible for the program are aware of needed extension and improvement. Such changes will undoubtedly be made as the experiment continues.¹¹

At the University of Louisville, a municipal institution with only day students, the common need for students to mingle casually on campus in informal social relations was believed important.

¹⁰ Stephens enrollment 1943-44 was about two thousand.

¹¹ *Stephens College News Reporter*, Vol. III, March 1944.

Accordingly, a snack bar was built. Students participated in its planning; they help to operate it; they are part of the administration group which forms policies and enforces regulations governing it.

CHANGES IN MODES OF OPERATION

As colleges begin systematically to identify group needs and to satisfy them, they also find changes are necessary in their prevailing ways of doing things. For example, when faculty members are solely responsible for enforcing the regulations which circumscribe social activities, the judicial authority may effectively be invested in a faculty social committee or the dean of men or women. However, when responsibility for regulating social behavior is assumed to be the prerogative of those being regulated—students and faculty both—then such a traditional method of securing conformity among students is invalid. New modes of government aimed at ultimate self-government by each individual are required.

The experience of Antioch College in the development of a Community Government is a good example of a mode of operation found feasible.¹² President Henderson described the Community Government in these words:

The Antioch College Community Government, for example, is modeled after the commission-manager form of municipal government. But it is not alone a "government" in the narrow sense; it is in reality an extension of the classroom—in part a redefinition of the classroom; it is at the same time part and parcel of the counseling program. It not only ties in these aspects of the college program with its own objectives, but also serves as a particular organization through which to search for the best means of harmonizing individual freedom with group endeavor.¹³

In carrying out the processes of the Community Government, Antioch uses three forms of discussion groups as means of developing an uncoerced consensus of community judgment leading to action. Of these, Henderson writes:

¹² Because the Antioch experience is reported in some detail, emphasis should perhaps be given to the fact that any program such as this one is modeled upon local traditions, molded by local personnel, and developed to meet local needs.

¹³ A. D. Henderson, *Vitalizing Liberal Education* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), p. 138.

An important part of the mechanism of Community Government is the use of committees. Committees not only promote democratic discussion and planning, but constitute focal centers for educative experience. The traditionally minded member of the faculty may frown at the presence of numerous committees on the campus. He would have good reason to frown if a particular student served on so many committees that he had no time for other study or experience. But an advantage of a planned program is that these responsibilities can be decentralized. A committee then becomes a point of action for the student—a point at which his thinking materializes into action which affects the social group. It is an educative situation in which faculty and students think and act together on some common problem. It is a device for the discovery of potential leadership material, for through the committee system individuals emerge to assume responsibility. The discovery and training of these leaders—large numbers of them—is a fundamental objective of the college. The decentralized committee is a device through which leadership training can be given to large numbers of the students.

Supplementing and implementing the formal governmental setup, there need to be established various educational methods, such as organized discussion meetings and community forums. These can be concerned both with major questions and proposals growing out of the activities of the community government, and with the issues confronting the larger community, nation, or society in which the college has its setting. Here again is a tie-in between the work in the community laboratory and the academic program.

These devices—committees, meetings, and forums—are machinery of great importance in a democratic society. Misunderstanding and frictions are the breeding ground of fascism, the basis for rationalizing the use of the "strong arm" in government. The alternative to dictation is consensus. And consensus *necessitates* techniques for group thinking which produce action that can gain general support. Instruction in these techniques is important for all citizens in a democracy, but especially so for those who may have the capacity to lead.¹⁴

Identifying Individual Needs

The need of an individual refers to the basic requirements placed upon him in our society. We have grouped these requirements arbitrarily into the so-called "developmental tasks" which everyone, because of his nature and the nature of society, must accomplish in one way or another. The job of the college may be

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

psychologically defined as the effort to help students to meet these growth tasks in effective ways.

As in the case of identifying group needs, the cooperating colleges have used a number of devices in identifying individual needs and meeting them through extra-class life.

THE USE OF INVENTORIES

The inventories are specifically defined to identify needs of individuals. In chapters x and xi are numerous examples of how the individual's profile of scores is helpful in suggesting what he is and what his resources are for improvement.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

In Antioch College, the citizenship of the student in the community is important. Accordingly, a rating device is used to identify his needs as a citizen and to suggest ways in which he may improve. Such factors as attendance at meetings, interest in committee projects, the nature and quality of his contribution at committee meetings, and nature of participation outside committee meetings are assessed in the individual on a four-point scale. These ratings as well as others are entered on the Community Government Personnel Record Card.

A card for each student is kept in the Community Government office and is filled out by student volunteers from information regularly furnished to the Community Government. The various administrative offices are free to consult this card at any time. When a student graduates or withdraws from college, his card is sent to our office and becomes part of his general folder.

The ratings on one side of the card are to be taken from reports submitted by the different advisers and others as to the student's capability or need for various kinds of extra-class experience. It will also be a record of the student's skills and interests as listed by himself.¹⁵

ANECDOTAL RECORDS

The anecdotal records kept by teachers are fruitful sources of information and insight in identifying needs. For example, three teachers of the same student independently observed in anecdotal

¹⁵ Letter by Dean Pillard, May 7, 1943.

records that Mary indicated an interest in plastic arts, that she was socially withdrawn and incept, and that in the structuring of the groups in which she participated she tended to play an anonymous role which was incompatible with her intellectual capacities. These observations, confirmed by the counselor's and residence hall director's observations, suggested a way for this student to find extra-class experience which would meet some of these needs. Thus, she was encouraged to indicate her interest in plastic arts to the fine arts instructor who, apprised beforehand of the girl's situation, worked out a series of projects with her cooperation. She worked with other students in building crêches for use in dormitory Christmas programs and ceremonies, and she designed model stage settings for the dramatics production groups. In these experiences her facility with plastic arts gave her status and laid the foundation in group work for considerably greater ease in social relations, helping her to overcome the inhibitions that had prevented utilization of her excellent potentialities.

As counselors help students to organize an effective educational program, they are alert to extra-class interests and activities as an educative resource. They attend carefully to the significance of a student's high school extra-class activity and to his expressions of interest in college activities. Counselors increasingly consider their own efforts also as an extra- or nonclass experience that has educative value and hence that should be available with equal efficiency and effectiveness to all students.

MEETING INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

What specifically can various extra-class activities contribute to the accomplishment of each developmental task? Fully cognizant of the fact that developmental tasks are not discrete entities but interrelated aspects of growth, let us look at each developmental task in turn to see what kinds of extra-class experience might conceivably affect it.

EMOTIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The essence of emotional independence is the ability to stand on one's own feet. Opportunities to make decisions and to be held accountable for them are hence of incalculable value in promoting

emotional independence. Such experience may accrue from participating in the planning and execution of policies in residence halls, in the student-government program, or in the give-and-take discussions with faculty members and students when responsibility for planning and executing campus policies is equally shared. Obviously, if extra-class activities are considered a necessary evil to be scrupulously supervised, a sense of responsibility will not develop, because excess supervision breeds dependence. On the other hand, when students are held accountable for activity in whose planning they share—when they are treated as adults—their emotional independence will be enhanced.

SOCIAL ADEQUACY AND EMOTIONAL SECURITY

The extensive social program of most campuses contributes to the development of skills which are essential to social competence. The opportunity for each student to participate in activities with small groups whose members value him for what he is—groups to which he "belongs"—provides essential experience leading to emotional security. However, the unfortunate finding of some of the cooperating colleges that a large minority of students do not participate extensively enough to have such belonging relations underlines the necessity of increasing, rather than decreasing, the number of opportunities for extra-class participation and the ways in which student participation is facilitated. In one college, for example, it was found through a time-study that whereas 65 percent of those who lived on campus participated in one or more activities, only 25 percent of those who lived at home were active in campus life.

VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

Extra-class activities designed to orient students to the world at work may be numerous. They include departmental clubs which bring in speakers and have discussions about the vocational implications of the department; field trips to various industries, schools, welfare agencies; social clubs with membership limited to those with similar vocational ambitions; acquaintance with alumni who are outstanding in various occupational areas; and so on. Then, too, there are the host of try-out experiences in extra-class

activities that have vocational implications. The potential stage designer interests himself in the dramatic-productions group; the student interested in law participates in debating; the social service worker tries out her hand in part-time work in the nursery school; the coach tests himself by sponsoring a team in the intramural program.

PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Many students in late adolescence are coming to grips for the first time with the realities of the universe. They are questioning their place in it; they are striving to make sense out of the seeming chaos of life. They are attempting to evolve a pattern of living which is satisfactory to them and which is socially approved. They are sensing their need for a philosophy of life.

Many extra-class experiences may contribute to the clarification of such matters. The religious experiences provided by chapel exercises, services, "Y" meetings, and the like, may be important resources for growth in a philosophy of life. But, as we have emphasized before, the relevance to the student's immediate problems of religious experiences must be clear to insure vitality. In one college, the series of talks in a Week of Prayer dealt with problems students indicated on the Check List of Wartime Problems. In another college frequent surveys of student concerns and difficulties provided the starting point for required vesper services conducted by the chairman of the Department of Life and Religion. In a third college, the proclivity for bull-sessions was capitalized on in a series of fireside meetings on Tuesday evenings in faculty homes when topics discussed in large-group YMCA meetings were used as focal points for further discussion.

GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS

Extra-class life may contribute to the realism of aspirations and goals by providing students with varied opportunities to try themselves out. This implies that campus conditions should simulate postcollege life, for success or failure in college should not be permitted to occur when the conditions leading to such effects are not present in adult society. This does occur frequently in the case of the valedictorian who because of unrealistic campus values is led naively to believe that academic proficiency on campus

insures outstanding success later in business or professional life, or in the case of the student who fails his courses and is made to feel that he is, therefore, doomed to failure in business. Extra-class life consequently should be a realistic social experience, with values which are similar to or identical with those of adult society.

INSIGHT AND SENSE OF HUMOR

The extra-class program may be so organized that it is easy or difficult to develop a sense of humor. Although we do not know a great deal about what a sense of humor is, we do know that the individual's ability to laugh at himself without losing caste or status in his own eyes or in the eyes of others is an important attribute of good mental health. The values of the extra-class program may be such that a student who has lost out in an election, a beauty contest, or as an applicant for a part in a play or on a team may be unduly penalized; his failure may be too great to allow a sense of humor. What is called for is perspective and balance as well as a variety of activities so that each student may have an appropriate number of successes and failures. Then the student can fail without loss of a sense of worthiness in his own eyes or succeed without losing his humility.

UNDERSTANDING OF SELF

When the extra-class participation of an individual meets two conditions, understanding of self may be improved: First, when his selection from a wide variety of extra-class activities is based upon a careful self-appraisal of his basic interests and aptitudes. Second, when his participation is tentative and exploratory—that is, when he feels that during his college experience he can explore, without penalty or undue fear of failure, the validity of his interests, can determine the depth and strength of his aptitudes, and can test the reality of his aspirations. The extra-class program when it is not too fully prescribed for each student will more likely provide the rich variety of experience which is necessary to a true understanding of self.

HETEROSEXUAL ADJUSTMENTS

On coeducational campuses one would think that adjustment to the opposite sex would not be difficult to accomplish. Students in-

inevitably will date, and it would need no organized program to promote heterosexual activity! Nevertheless, many of the cooperating colleges have found that for one reason or another a fair proportion of students are not making desirable adjustments to the opposite sex. In the first place, the economic standard of boy-girl relations may be such as to exclude students who cannot afford the clothing or the price of the entertainment that is customary on the campus. In the second place, cliquishness, the operation of small, conflicting in-groups to the exclusion of all-campus, inexpensive social functions for both sexes effectually discriminates against the timid, withdrawn, or immature student who is precisely the one most in need of such experience. In the third place, on some campuses the understanding of the deep drives involved in heterosexual adjustment is limited. The information provided in courses and in extra-class activities regarding appropriate heterosexual behavior and problems is limited. And finally, the social restrictions are rigid and lacking in understanding.

In view of these difficulties, it is encouraging to note some of the ways in which cooperating colleges are working to provide wholesome and appropriate social participation with the opposite sex in controlled, desirable conditions. The number of all-campus social affairs has increased. At the same time, counselors in various student groups are concentrating their efforts upon discussing with each student the heterosexual activity which he needs.¹⁸ In class and extra-class activity teachers and student leaders have made a conscious effort to throw men and women students together in committee work or in other projects permitting casual, friendly relations. In dormitories and residence halls boy-girl problems have been frankly and objectively studied. In countless other ways the clandestine method of "solving" problems growing out of boy-girl relations has given way to open, wholesome, and informed discussions. When regulations restricting social behavior are recognized as growing out of the needs of the group as well as the need to protect the individual, and when students themselves participate in the planning of these policies (for example, policies regarding late hours, drinking, appropriate dating behavior, and

¹⁸ See chap. iv, pp. 83-94, for a more extensive discussion of this program at Antioch.

so on), the emotional atmosphere of the campus is more conducive to wholesome growth in boy-girl relations.

Conclusion: Practices Are Means, Not Ends

Throughout all of the above discussion of practices in identifying and satisfying the needs of groups or individuals, the implication has been clear that practices are means, not ends. As such, practices vary as new needs arise. The tendency to sanctify existing practices because "they have always worked" is being countered in the cooperating colleges by the conviction that educational means need constant redefinition. As objectives become crystal clear, the means of realizing them are altered. New devices, new modes of operation, new inventories, new conditions may need to be created to meet new demands.

The Educative Value of Living Arrangements

ALL CAMPUS EXPERIENCES are potentially educative. The living arrangements of students are no exception, whether these involve dormitories, fraternity houses, cooperative clubs, or private homes where two or more students live. In general, the college-controlled rooming facilities that house groups of students are the focus of our attention in this chapter, although the principles which affect the educative opportunities of dormitory life apply also to other units.

Colleges committed to the purpose of influencing the total development of the student recognize the importance of imbuing his living arrangements with educational goals. In the daily contacts in intimate personal groups in dining halls, study halls, and living rooms exist the powerful forces which shape attitudes, create beliefs, stimulate interests, and in other ways mold personalities. As an educational medium affecting total development, therefore, the living arrangement of the student body is superior. In the common phrase of the day the campus has become a "laboratory of living." This phrase suggests two basic elements. First, life in the dormitory is "living"—a genuine, as opposed to an artificial, thing. Students may respond artificially to the essential artificiality of the classroom; they tend to be only themselves in the dormitory, where "you are known more nearly as you really are" than anywhere else on campus. Second, life in a dormitory is a laboratory situation—a place where experiments can more freely be tried than in other noncampus living arrangements, such as those with the family. Interests may be more fully explored; changes made more rapidly as devices fail or succeed; conditions created more quickly to effect desired changes in student behavior. The dormitory is, in fact, a new kind of classroom.

This basic concept alters the traditional role of the house-mother, residence director, dean of women, residence counselor, or whoever is in charge of the dormitory. Originally a combination mother and policeman, the head of the dormitory is now more likely to be a professionally trained person with faculty status who has the particular job on campus of making life in the dormitory wholesomely educative. She (or he) is skilled in group guidance, individual counseling, psychological measurement; she has a broad educational philosophy which enables her to relate dormitory life to class and extra-class activities; she is a new kind of person on the educational scene.

Most of the cooperating colleges are making intensive efforts to incorporate living arrangements into the college's total program. These efforts will be summarized in this chapter. First, the program at Stephens College will be discussed as an illustration of how many of the concepts relating to an individualized program of education are being applied in one college. Second, another aspect of "education through living arrangements" will be illustrated in the report of a sex education experiment at Antioch College. Third, other techniques and programs, especially the use of sociometric techniques developed by Moreno,¹ will be briefly discussed.

The Residence Hall Program at Stephens College²

By *Mary Isabel Omer*

The educational philosophy at Stephens College which places emphasis on educating the "whole individual" recognizes that the walls of a classroom do not define the boundaries of a college education; it takes into consideration the abundance of teaching opportunities in out-of-class experiences.

One of the efforts to utilize these opportunities in a systematic

¹ J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Co., 1934).

² This material is excerpted from Mary Isabel Omer, *A Handbook for Residence Counselors* (Columbia, Mo.: Stephens College, 1943. ii + 73 pp.). As Miss Omer points out in the Preface: "This *Handbook* has been planned with the Stephens College program specifically in mind. [Although] . . . the idea, or at least some phases of it, may be applicable in other situations . . . one should always remember . . . that a program which fits one institution seldom can be taken over to another situation without adaptation."

way is an educational program in the residence halls under the direction of trained counselors. In keeping with this fundamental philosophy and the above plan, instruction on the Stephens College campus is shared by four general instructional groups: classroom teachers, residence counselors, clinics, and student organizations. In the eyes of the administration these groups are coordinate. The adviser's³ relation to the four is that of a coordinator. The general function of the residence counselors is to help students with their needs, interests, and goals in their general human relations, and particularly with their social adjustment experiences. Residence counselors, therefore, give instruction through out-of-class activities.

THE DECENTRALIZED PLAN

At Stephens College there is no dean of women in the traditional sense of the words. A decentralized administrative organization combines the work of the traditional office of the dean of women with the hall educational program. This decentralized plan provides one residence counselor for each residence hall. The counselor lives in the hall, works with the dean of administration and the director of the Extra-Class Division in formulating general administrative policies affecting the out-of-class life of the students, has definite responsibility for the administration of her own hall, and cooperates with the other residence counselors in executing the general policies.

Each residence counselor is a full-time member of the faculty without classroom responsibilities. Thus, she is able to give undivided effort to teaching and administrative responsibilities within the residence halls.

Residence counselors have faculty status and are expected to have training in the field of personnel.

The residence counselors are organized as a department under a chairman. They hold weekly meetings which serve as a clearing-house for the discussion of various administrative problems of general interest to the group. Such topics as interpretation of rules

³ At Stephens, all faculty members—both classroom teachers and residence counselors—have advisees. The term "adviser" refers to the faculty in relationship to their advisees; the term "counselor" refers to residence hall counselors in their relation to the students in their dormitories.

and regulations, cooperation with advisers, and the use of individualized-instruction reports are typical matters discussed. At some meetings plans for social programs such as all-school, sorority, or hall dances, college-sponsored trips, or cultural programs are presented. At other meetings committees working on special studies or projects report on their progress.

The last week of August is spent on campus by all residence counselors and their assistants in order to orient new counselors and to make plans for the new year.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF RESIDENCE COUNSELORS

Residence counselors perform two types of functions: teaching and administrative. Teaching functions include: (1) hall instruction—e.g., group counseling; (2) advising—e.g., individual counseling; (3) keeping and interpreting personnel records—e.g., socio-grams, inventory responses, anecdotal records from other teachers; (4) cooperating with other guidance agencies, such as the clinics, admissions counselors, administrators; (5) committee work—e.g., the student-faculty committee on study conditions.

Administrative functions include: (1) supervision of the residence hall staff consisting of, perhaps, assistant counselors, apprentice (student) counselor, student-hostesses, and maids; (2) cooperating with such agencies as the dean of administration, the director of the Extra-Class Division, the Permissions Office, the dietitian, and the supervisor of dormitories; (3) making records and reports for administrative purposes—such as annual or other periodic reports for evaluation, legal protection, or other purposes; (4) evaluating constantly.

TECHNIQUES FOR CARRYING OUT MAJOR FUNCTIONS

Both teaching and administrative functions involve a variety of techniques which cannot be fully discussed here but which may be illustrated by selecting those techniques that are unique or of special interest as implementations of concepts we have previously elaborated.

USE OF STUDENTS

The residence counselors make every effort to use students in places of responsibility. Part of the counselor's instructional pro-

gram is the training of these students. Hall officers, senior sisters, dining-room student-hostesses, proctors, and student committee memberships are typical jobs through which students help to carry on the total hall program.

Each residence hall, for example, has its own house council which is sponsored by the residence counselor. To enable the members of the house council to help effectively and thus to secure greater personal growth as well, the counselor tries to educate her house council members to the personnel point of view. If this training is successful, she can rely on her house council as an effective technique in carrying out the rest of the hall program. Training of hall officers, elected in the spring to serve the following year, occurs following their election. The training consists of a leadership-training course, and a student leaders' conference held in the fall two days before the other students arrive.

Senior sisters, to cite another example of the use of students, selected as student advisers to aid in the orientation program of new students—one senior for every six or eight juniors⁴—are also given training in May and September before they serve. The residence counselors offer a course for senior sisters and other campus leaders in which the uses of inventories, tests, and personality rating scales are studied; the objectives of the orientation program are defined; and so on.

Throughout the year the residence counselors are largely responsible for still further instruction as the senior sisters actually carry on their work. The chairman of the senior sisters in each hall is not only a member of her own house council, but also of the campus-wide Senior Sister Council which meets regularly for discussion of common problems. The chairman works with the other hall officers and cooperates with all senior sisters in her hall in helping the juniors with their adjustment to college life.

The counselor finds that a well-trained group of senior sisters can be counted on for some very effective teaching on such points as rules and regulations, Stephens traditions, Who's Who on Campus, location of buildings and what goes on in each, grooming, homesickness, making friends, getting along with a roommate, use of time, and so forth. Through this senior-sister program a large

⁴At Stephens, a junior college, juniors correspond to freshmen in the conventional four-year setup.

number of students are given opportunity for individual growth and character development. At the same time they have an excellent chance to render service to other individuals and to contribute to successful group living. The residence counselor of a senior sister teaches not only the senior, but through her, the junior whose welfare the senior has as her interest and responsibility.⁵

GROUP GUIDANCE TECHNIQUES

House meetings.—One hour has been set apart each week for use in the hall instructional program. Sometimes this meeting is used as a house meeting for all girls in the hall. At other times it is used by the counselor for work with small groups of students; at still other times, senior sisters or student-congress members use this hour for their program within the hall.

Discussion groups.—Some residence counselors have successfully used small, optional discussion groups centering around student interests and needs. Discussion groups are sometimes led by the counselor herself. At other times guest speakers from such fields as psychology and marriage and the family serve as leaders. During the year 1942-43 one counselor conducted a series of group discussions on the three themes: vocations, getting a job, and going to college. Students decided which of the groups they would attend on the basis of their interests and future plans. Discussions on dating, interpretation of rules and regulations, courtesy, and questions related to sex information are other illustrations of topics around which discussion groups can be planned.

Miscellaneous group techniques.—In addition to these group techniques some residence counselors have such valuable methods as films, recordings, panel discussions, bulletin boards, and committees. For example, in an attempt to discover effective techniques for teaching courtesy, a film was produced by counselors and students with the cooperation of the cinema laboratory. This film included actual scenes taken on the campus and related to courtesy in the residence hall, in the dining rooms, in classrooms, and downtown. The film teaches by illustrations, contrasting the incorrect with the correct behavior. The film has been used with success in house meetings in the residence halls.

⁵ See chap. ii for additional discussion of use of students as advisers.

INDIVIDUAL GUIDANCE TECHNIQUES

Records.—Records available to residence counselors include precollege data from students' plan sheets, personal-information sheets from parents, admissions counselors' reports, and the high school principal's confidential reports. From the student blank one obtains such information as a student's academic, leisure, vocational, and special interests, her reasons for attending Stephens College and what she wants from college. The parents' blank includes statements of their daughter's attitude toward school and class work, her citizenship rating, ability to make friends, estimate of probable scholastic success in college, amount of responsibility they think their daughter can take in regard to class attendance, independent study, social life, and religious life, as well as special physical handicaps, character or personality deficiencies, clinic help desired, special needs and future educational plans. From the admissions counselor's report there are statements on health, transfer plans or terminal course, leadership, scholarship, school attendance record, citizenship, attitudes, emotional stability, social adjustment, family background, financial status, cultural level, and church affiliation. The high school principal reports on the student's needs, personality traits, qualities of leadership and scholarship, social rating, extra-curricular activities, and recommendations.

Test results such as those on vocational interests and aptitudes are available to the residence counselor. If she wishes she may use the Personal-Social Inventory from the Cooperative Study in General Education, the Stephens College Personal Inventory, personality rating scales, problem check lists, and the like as a basis for individual counseling.

Some counselors have found most helpful an anecdotal-record notebook in which are recorded daily significant observations of student behavior and notes on student conferences.

Before the students arrive it is possible to make lists of students according to needs and to use these lists in planning hall activities and in enlisting the cooperation of students in accepting responsibility. Giving a student something to do early in the year frequently helps to avoid excessive homesickness and increases her feeling of security and of belonging to the group.

Probations and written agreements.—For the infraction of rules there are no set penalties. This is in keeping with the program of individualized education. This does not mean, however, that "nothing happens" when a student violates the rules. Rather, the counselor and house council are free to work out a constructive program with an individual student best suited to her needs. Sometimes a thorough talking over of the infraction with the student is all that is needed to get her on the right track. In other cases, written agreements are used; for still others, probation seems the most effective means. A written agreement is usually entered into by the student and her house council and is used in such cases as walking off campus or smoking in one's room. The written form is impressive. It also serves as a reference if there are further infractions by the same student. Probations are reserved for use when there is a definite question as to whether or not a girl is to remain in school. A student may be placed on probation for either academic or citizenship reasons. Drinking and visiting men's apartments, which are violations of the major rules of the college, are illustrative of the type of violations for which a student may be placed on citizenship probation. Probations for academic reasons are generally adviser-initiated; those for citizenship reasons are usually initiated by the residence counselor. But, in every instance, a student is placed on probation only after a joint decision has been arrived at by the student's adviser, her residence counselor, the dean of administration, and sometimes her house council.

Informal situations.—In addition to the above more or less formal techniques for individual guidance, residence counselors frequently take advantage of informal situations to establish rapport and to counsel students, such as dropping a note to a student for honors received or for a special performance in music, drama, or hall responsibility; to recognize a girl's birthday; or to students who are spending several days in the health center.

Referral to clinics.—Another common technique in working with individual students is the use of the many clinics, such as those in psychology, health, grooming, or vocational guidance.*

* See chap. vi, pp. 115-27 for a discussion of clinics and their functions at Stephens College.

The residence counselor's function is to be sensitive to the kinds of student needs which only specialists can best handle.

EVALUATION OF THE RESIDENCE COUNSELING PROGRAM

A variety of measures have been used experimentally to evaluate such aspects of the residence counseling program as the morale of the hall, how well service to students is being rendered, the senior sisters, the house council, and staff members. An illustration of the kinds of evaluative instruments devised for the Stephens situation is given below.

Whether or not students receive help through their residence hall program when they need it is significant. In the spring of 1943 the instrument which follows was used for the first time as a technique for getting student opinion on this point. Validity for the instrument is not claimed. Again, it is only suggestive.

STUDENT INQUIRY REGARDING RESIDENCE HALL PROGRAM

One significant aid for improving the residence hall program is student opinion. It is for this reason that you are asked to give the information requested below.

Directions

1. Do not sign your name.
2. The purpose of this is to get *your* judgment. For this reason please work independently.
3. Below are listed the different ways in which the hall program seeks to help students.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| a) Citizenship | | | | |
| Realizing the need for rules | — | — | — | — |
| Keeping minor rules | — | — | — | — |
| Keeping major rules | — | — | — | — |
| b) Manners and bearing | | | | |
| Consideration for others | — | — | — | — |
| Personal appearance and cleanliness | — | — | — | — |
| Common courtesy | — | — | — | — |
| c) Use of time | | | | |
| Wise distribution of time | — | — | — | — |
| Promptness | — | — | — | — |
| Concentration | — | — | — | — |
| d) Personal development | | | | |
| Developing self-confidence | — | — | — | — |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Getting along with others | ----- |
| Being happy | ----- |
| e) Hall responsibility | ----- |
| Acceptance of responsibility | ----- |
| Development of leadership ability | ----- |
| Development of followership ability | ----- |
| f) Health | ----- |
| Feeling rested and energetic | ----- |
| Getting enough sleep | ----- |
| Eating regularly and adequately | ----- |
| g) Social activities | ----- |
| Enjoying association with many people | ----- |
| Dating | ----- |
| Making friends | ----- |

1. *Under the column headed "1"*

Write a plus (+) opposite each type of help you, as a student, feel you have *needed* at some time or other during the past year.

2. *Under column headed "2"*

Write a plus (+) opposite each type of help you, as a student, feel you have *received* from anyone in your hall this year.

3. *Under column headed "3"*

Write a plus (+) opposite each type of help which you yourself know at least one other student *needed* this year.

4. *Under column headed "4"*

Write a plus (+) opposite each type which you yourself know the student referred to in column 3 received this year from anyone in your hall.

An Experiment in Sex Education at Antioch CollegeBy C. D. Stevens and Elizabeth D. Salt¹**INTRODUCTION**

Editor's Note.—This report of the experiment at Antioch College is useful to indicate (1) a method whereby faculty and students work together cooperatively, and (2) some of the specific detail of an educational project conducted largely by students

¹Mr. Stevens and I wish to acknowledge the help and cooperation given us on the Antioch campus in carrying out this project. We are particularly indebted to Dr. P. B. Wingfield, college physician, and Basil Pillard, then dean of students, for their work in training the group of discussion leaders. We are also indebted to the discussion leaders themselves, all of whom were students or working at full-time jobs throughout the period in which they were engaged in the work of this project. Without their support, that of the students who participated in the discussions, and the confidence of the college faculty and administration, none of the work would have been possible.—ELIZABETH SALT

using the residence halls as a medium. The introduction by Professor Stevens, professor of sociology, orients the reader; the experiment itself is described and evaluated by Mrs. Salt, a student at Antioch at the time of the experiment.

P.J.B.

Antioch College has for some years tried various experiments in sex education. In general, these services have included a lecture or series of lectures by doctors. The college physician has always been available to discuss an individual problem if the student took the initiative in seeking the doctor's advice. The adviser system provided an opportunity for students to seek information from faculty personnel. In addition to faculty advisers, doctors other than the college physician, the dean of students, and the assistant dean, college psychologists, the college pastor, and other mature people have been and are available for counseling in this and other areas. Here, again, the responsibility for seeking this information rested upon the student. For a short time some of the faculty wives led discussions in the women's halls as a supplement to two general lectures which the students previously had heard. Some sex education is given in required courses in life science and in ethics.

Until recently, a member of the psychology department has been giving two lectures in boy-girl relations as a part of the freshman orientation course, but these lectures have now been incorporated into the Life Science course. A course not generally open to students until their third year of college or later is offered in Marriage and the Family. All of these and other attempts have been made; however, it is abundantly evident that too many students are entering college without a scientific vocabulary or sufficient insight to enable them successfully to face problems in this area, and it is also true that problems of boy-girl relations are at least as important to students in their first two years in college as they are in the later years.

During the summer of 1942, some women students, living in a college-owned house located just off the campus, were worried about the total picture of morale in their dormitory. The personnel of this dormitory consisted of women who had just transferred to Antioch College from other institutions and of upper-class women. In general, the girls were in their second and third year in college.

They varied greatly in their backgrounds, from a high degree of sophistication to pretty nearly utter naïveté. The girls who were worried complained of too-late hours and some degree of drinking. Men students were being drained from the college campus into the armed forces at an increasing rate. These girls felt that the tensions of the times were highlighting the usual problems and intensifying them. They wanted to know what they could do about it.

A preliminary luncheon conference with the girls was held, and the decision reached to invite a group leader to conduct a discussion on the question of morale. The hall meeting was considered to be satisfactory. Indeed, so satisfactory was this meeting that the leader was invited to return to this same hall the next week to continue this discussion. As a result of the two hall meetings, the dean of students was asked to agree to train some young married women students and recent graduates to attend hall meetings upon invitation to carry on discussions in the area of sex education.

The proposal was to find four young married women, students or graduates, who would be interested in leading discussions. These young women were to meet with the dean of students, the college physician, and the writer, to discuss the different areas in sex education which might enter into the discussions in the halls. It was hoped that the meeting of the four women and the three faculty people would establish, in so far as possible, a community of attitude toward the various areas of sex information, would anticipate the questions that would arise in hall discussions, would lead to a thorough understanding of the college policy involving social behavior between the sexes, and would clarify any questions the group of young married students might ask.

THE EXPERIMENT

After preliminary conversations with the dean of students and others, the project on sex education was submitted for sponsorship to the campus Committee on Social Counseling.⁸ The committee asked that the group leaders report to them on their progress at

⁸This faculty-student committee was a policy-forming body which was charged with the education of the students in regard to personal and social standards of conduct.

regular intervals throughout the quarter, that they submit to them the names of the personnel of the group leading the discussions, and that they be thoroughly acquainted with the college policy in respect to social behavior between the sexes. At the same time the men on the committee felt that the group leaders should submit a list of names of young married men who might also be interested in and qualified for this project.

Then began a thorough search for the people who might participate in such a project.⁶ After eight people were found and approved, a series of meetings was arranged with some faculty members to discuss such questions as: How shall such a discussion be opened with a group; how much shall voluntarily be told to them; to what degree should questions be just answered without elaboration? What should be the approach to the question of petting; what should be the group attitude on premarital relations; how much should be told about contraceptive methods? Should time be spent giving physiological background and psychological background, and what shall be said about homosexuality and masturbation? What facts about prostitution and venereal disease should be known in presenting any information on this subject?

Finally, how shall the results be evaluated? In answer to this, it was felt that there were numerous possibilities. First of all, faculty members associated with the student-counseling program would hear about it and determine whether or not these discussions were unsatisfactory. The Student Counseling Office would also undoubtedly hear repercussions if things were going badly. Leaders would not be invited to other halls if enough halls were dissatisfied with the early discussions. Finally, it was felt that after the technique had been tried, it might be possible to circulate a questionnaire and also get individuals to write evaluations of the project.

⁶ Some of the criteria in searching for these people were that: (1) they be married; (2) they have a healthy attitude toward sex in all aspects; (3) they be respected on the campus without being considered prudes; (4) they be students, if possible, or recent graduates in order that they might know the problems of the student in this area, and more specifically that they know the problems of the specific campus; (5) they have had a background of psychology, or hall-advising experience, or active experience in committee work where they would have had much experience in dealing with people; (6) they be objective and impersonal in their approach; (7) they have a sense of humor.

The final mechanics of the project were these: The writer was to act as the clearinghouse for requests of groups who wanted a discussion. When a group wanted someone, the writer would assign members of the Boy-Girl Relations Group, as the leaders came to be called, to these groups on the basis of which of them were free, whether they had brothers or sisters in the group, and whether they had more skill in handling an upper-class or under-class group.

The writer made a short announcement at a meeting of all the presidents of the halls that a discussion-group service was available to any group under twenty in number, for one or two sessions, as they desired, on the subject of boy-girl relations, or sex education. The discussions would be frank, objective, informative, and impersonal in so far as it was possible. The group should feel free to invite two men for one meeting, and two women for a second if they desired, or vice versa, as they preferred. The group wanted the program to be as flexible as possible in order that they might meet the diverse needs of the campus.

The night after this announcement three different requests came in, and by the end of the week two more halls expressed their interest. This project was presented in the middle of the fall quarter, and at the end of the last week of the quarter the group had visited ten different meetings, many of them for two different evenings.

TECHNIQUES

In putting the project on a completely discussion basis, several drawbacks were found. First of all, it was more difficult to gain rapport with the hall members when the leaders merely explained their purpose, and then sat back to wait for questions. Even in a school such as Antioch where much time is devoted to discussion groups, it was found that in this area there was too much hesitancy, too many inhibitions, and too much of an emotional aura about the vocabulary involved to expect the students to start right in with their questions. Often as much as an hour would pass before enough rapport would be gained and enough freedom would be found in the discussion for the students to come out point-blank

with such emotion-laden words as sex, intercourse, contraceptives, prostitution, and so forth.

To overcome the stiffness,¹⁰ three main techniques were introduced which stood in good stead. First, group leaders tried to talk with at least two people who were leaders in the hall and find out from them what the personnel of the group was, what their needs were, and what areas the group was most interested in discussing. Second, a question box was set up ahead of time so that anyone with a question which he felt was too embarrassing to be asked from the floor might ask it anonymously in this way.

Finally, each leader went to the meeting prepared to talk informally for a short time about one of the subjects brought up in previous conference with the hall leaders. These informal opening discussions were very often physiological in nature in an attempt to give the group a basis for further discussion, and usually lasted not more than ten minutes. These three techniques, added to the use of the Birth Atlas¹¹ helped to overcome many of the previous difficulties.

There were some general techniques. In the main, for example, the leaders tried not to hedge on any question asked. If they did not know the answer but thought there was one, they admitted their inadequacy and recommended that the person see someone better qualified to answer it, such as a doctor, or a psychologist, or they recommended that the student do some reading from one of the recommended books. When a particularly naïve question arose, followed by a gust of laughter, the leaders laughed too, but came back to the question immediately to say that it was a perfectly good question, after all, and here was a possible answer to it. Wherever possible, emotion-laden words or very technical terminology were avoided, and the discussion was reduced to terms that the individual group could handle. Technical terms were carefully defined. As objective an approach as possible was used. The dis-

¹⁰This term is used, not necessarily to cover the blank silence which occurred frequently at the opening of a meeting, but also to cover pointless discussion which centered about one topic when a group could not bring itself to open a new one because of fear of using the terminology, fear of being laughed at, or of being thought a "hot neck."

¹¹A collection of twenty-four photographs of terra cotta casts put out by the Maternity Association of New York City and done after the study of thousands of X-rays of pregnancy.

cussion was not based on what leaders personally thought, or on any moral precepts. Rather, in the case of the questions in which the questioner wished to know whether "petting was good, or right," "premarital relations justifiable, or bad," leaders phrased such questions in terms of "healthy," or "unhealthy," from a mental, physical, or social point of view. When leaders gave personal opinions, they were careful to stress the fact that they were personal.

Some of the factors which helped group participation were that these student groups almost all had other interests in common. They had worked on campus projects together, played various games together, and lived in the same hall with one another, so that there was an initial unity which did not have to be built up. The meetings were held in the common rooms of each hall where the atmosphere was informal and comfortable, if a little crowded at times. This very crowding seemed to make for more real rapport than could ever be found in a lecture hall, a classroom, or a private office.

It should be noted, too, that with but one exception the questions asked in all the halls were asked in good faith. There was but little of the smart-alecky approach to the subject from the groups participating, but rather an objectivity, a genuine interest, and certainly a saving sense of humor.

HOW THE SUBJECT CAN BE INTRODUCED TO A GROUP

There are probably as many ways to introduce the subject of sex to a group as there are different leaders and groups. However, one way can be reproduced here by way of illustration.

Before the discussion was turned over to the two women, the twenty girls held their regular hall meeting, with its announcements, questions and decisions, just as usual. After they had finished this short meeting, they turned the rest of the evening over to the group leaders. One of the leaders was assistant dean of students, had been married for six years, and had a daughter five years old.

Mrs. S: Before we open the discussion I wonder if it wouldn't be a good idea for me to see how many of your names I can remember. [Going around the circle, she named as many as she could, with Mrs.

L and the girls helping her. Then they were quiet as she went on.]

Mrs. L and I are here tonight, not because we are doctors or psychologists, but because we have but recently been students on this campus, going through many of the same dating situations that you are now in. We do not pretend to know all of the answers to any of the questions you may be able to raise about the dating situation or about sex in general. If we cannot answer the questions, we shall not hesitate to say so; and if you do not agree with some of the things we say, do not hesitate to say so. We are here because we feel that most students have questions in this area which are not answered in the general lecture approach which has been used in past years and that most students do not have a chance to take a course in Courtship, Marriage, and the Family in which they would have a chance to ask these questions.

At this point the two leaders showed the girls the Birth Atlas¹² and explained its source. In the process of explaining the Atlas, the questions from the floor started pouring in.

WHAT QUESTIONS WERE ASKED?

The questions asked came from two sources. First, there were the questions which came from the floor, many of which undoubtedly developed out of the previous discussion; the other source was the question box which had been posted in the hall before the meeting.

The questions covered a great many areas. Some were strictly physiological questions, while others were of a psychological or social nature. These areas were broken down by one senior student in constructing a questionnaire (to test the effectiveness of the program) into the following categories: premarital relations, contraceptives, menstruation, dating, physiology of the male and female, masturbation, and pregnancies (including childbirths and abortions).

It is difficult to select any questions as "typical." Some types of questions occurred with greater frequency than others; but each question might be said to reflect only the uniqueness of the person asking it. However, some of the topics may be listed to give a better idea of the kind of thing a leader encounters. In the attempt to indicate the manner in which each topic was approached, in

¹² *Ibid.*

no sense is the full answer here. Rather, a *possible* approach is indicated, instead of a complete or dogmatic answer. Perhaps the topic occurring with greatest frequency was petting. Questions referred to such things as: What are the psychological and physiological effects of petting? How does the opposite sex feel on the matter? How does petting affect one's popularity?

In answering such questions, it is possible to indicate the difference in awareness of a sex drive in the young male and female, the individual differences found in two members of the same sex, and the physiological differences between the two sexes. In regard to how petting might affect popularity, it is necessary to consider the social attitudes on this matter in a given community; possibly a discussion of promiscuity *versus* petting as a natural expression of growing comradeship, trust, and love for another person would help. The question was not approached from a religious or ethical point of view since leaders regarded themselves as an information service; and at least some, if not all, felt themselves inadequate to deal with these aspects of the problem. This, however, is not to say that such considerations could not be brought under discussion in the hands of a competent leader.

Probably contraception came close to being the topic occurring with next greatest frequency. Questions on this subject ranged from a desire to know what contraception is to a desire to know about different methods which can be used. There were some questions about masturbation from both men and women. Most of the questions under this topic centered about the psychological and physiological effects. However, they ranged from a desire for a definition or explanation of what masturbation was to a question of the effects of masturbation on later heterosexual adjustment. Another topic which kept recurring was that of intercourse. Questions ranged from a desire to know what it is, to a question of the frequency with which it occurs in a marriage.

These are only a few of the topics brought up for discussion by the group. The questions were asked in good faith, and answers were given in the same manner. They were not asked in a facetious manner in order to put the leaders on a spot or to be smart. They were asked by healthy young minds in healthy young bodies, in an attempt better to understand themselves and their relation-

ship to the opposite sex. In one hall two of the students were visibly "shocked" by some of the discussion and left early in a perturbed state. The hall adviser, an older student living in the hall for purposes of counseling younger students, left the session to talk with them and try to minimize this situation as much as possible. This was the *only* time this occurred in all the visits to twenty-six different halls.

WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

Aside from learning a great deal personally about the subject of sex, the needs of college students, and the ways and means of discussing the subject with a group, the eight group leaders felt that certain other values had been obtained.

First of all, a little was done toward helping these students to develop a healthy attitude toward the subject of sex. The students were helped to understand its physiological basis in both sexes, and to understand the differences between the sexes in emotional and psychological maturation. Students were also helped to see some of the broader social aspects of sex relations.

Group leaders attempted to do this by encouraging each group to hear the point of view of the opposite sex on their questions as well as that of their own sex. The use of the scientific approach was another technique. Invariably the psychologist's concept of emotional growth was given, and leaders pointed out how much individual variation in behavior is considered normal. In each hall it was emphasized (without making a separate point of it) that many people have similar problems and that little real basis exists for feeling isolated with a personal problem, whether it be a question of homosexuality, masturbation, or premarital relations. In this way each individual saw himself in relation to society as a whole with the attendant privileges and responsibilities of such a relationship. In the meantime he was helped to gain some self-objectivity.

Second, leaders tried to replace misinformation with the best information available—information gleaned in discussions with the college physician, the dean of students, the faculty sponsor, reading, and in college courses.

Third, students were enabled to verbalize their needs in this area by discussing them openly in a healthy, friendly atmosphere,

free from embarrassing overtones. In some cases verbalization was a big step toward freeing the subject from its place in a realm of "things that aren't nice to talk about," removing much of the aura of emotionality and making it possible to discuss the subject frankly as a normal phase of emotional development. This is not to say that any one tried to detract from the beauty of the sexual relationship in marriage.

Fourth, the discussions gave students physiological, psychological, and social facts at a time when they needed them. Thus, they should have a better basis for determining personal action in any relation with a member of the opposite sex.

The results can also be evaluated objectively from these facts: twenty-six halls were visited in the space of six months. These halls would probably not have invited such a group if previous meetings with other halls had not been successful. People felt free to stop group leaders and say that they thought the project was worth while and a "swell idea." The campus publications saw fit to mention the project as a fine step toward more ethical social conduct.

One student who was taking the course in Courtship, Marriage, and the Family became very much interested in the project and constructed a questionnaire which both the psychology and education departments checked. It was given to members of four of the halls which had been visited during the first quarter of the project. In the report statistics showed that 87 percent of the group who answered the questionnaire felt that "the discussions were helpful and warranted the time taken, and should be continued if the personnel to give them is available."

The same questionnaire was circulated the next quarter and similar results were obtained: 92 percent of those returning the questionnaires thought the discussions should be continued; 76 percent felt that the discussions were valuable enough to warrant the time taken; 21 percent felt they were very helpful; and 68 percent felt that they were helpful.

Other students cooperated by writing brief evaluations of the program with recommendations for its future use and suggested improvements. Such letters were invaluable in changing techniques and working toward more effective presentation of material.

FINAL EVALUATIONS OF THE GROUP TECHNIQUE

The discussion of this subject in fairly small groups has some advantages over larger general lectures, although lectures might well be used in the presentation of general material of a physiological nature. The subject is discussed in small natural groups or "bull sessions," frequently without adequate leadership, and seems to be of interest to such groups. Therefore, it is believed that good use can be made of such natural "bull-session" groups as a starting point for a discussion having real educational value.

Such a program should be continued *only* if adequate personnel is available in terms of criteria similar to those used at the beginning of this project. As a corollary, it is felt that such a project has more value if promoted by the students rather than by a college administration.

Nobody feels that this experiment or project is a final answer to the search for a really adequate means of education in this area. Nor, as was pointed out in the introduction, is this the *only* effort being made at Antioch to make information on sex available to the student. Rather it is one part of a larger program.

It is essential that the personnel for leadership of such a project be students or near-students in level so that the group may feel confidence in the leader's attitudes and opinions as being of their generation and not something pedagogical or academic.

It cannot be stressed too much that any group of students selected to carry out a similar project should have ample opportunity to plan and study together before making themselves available as discussion leaders. The meetings with the college physician, dean of students, and Mr. Stevens were invaluable training for the work which followed.

Probably the greatest limitation of this project is posed by the problem of providing a continuing leadership through recruiting the personnel who must be newly trained as each of the former groups graduates or leaves the community.

Other Techniques and Programs

In colleges where it is not possible to house all students in living units on the campus, the problem is chiefly one of training room-

ing-house owners in such a way that these off-campus arrangements may represent educative resources which are integrated with the campus program. The work of Michigan State College and Iowa State College are significant steps in the direction of such integration.

IOWA STATE COLLEGE

An off-campus housing committee has worked for a number of years (1) to promote adequate and suitable housing facilities, (2) to supervise the inspection and grading of all student rooms, and (3) to promote businesslike and fair dealings between student and householder. The membership of the committee indicates more explicitly than these purposes do how housing arrangements are gradually being integrated with the campus educational program: there are representatives from each of the five divisions of the college, a doctor from the staff of the college hospital, the YMCA secretary, the superintendent of buildings and grounds, and the director of residence who serves as chairman.

The committee tries to achieve educational purposes through housing by (1) regulating business arrangements between student and householder. Both of the latter are required to sign a contract of tenure. Student, as well as householder, is held to complete responsibility for living up to the contract. (2) Off-campus students are included in the social life of the college through use with campus groups of recreational facilities and all-college parties and other social functions. (3) The committee also sponsors an in-service training program for directors of the sorority, fraternity, and campus residence halls. This program consists principally of an annual series of meetings to discuss common residence problems. Topics are carefully selected so that the meetings are organized around significant educational aspects of housing problems. A sample agenda is as follows:

| Date | Topic | Speaker and Discussion Leader |
|----------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Sept. 13 | Address | President of the College |
| Sept. 20 | "Plans for the Year" | Director of residence |
| Sept. 27 | "Nutrition" | Head, foods and nutrition department |
| Oct. 4 | "Counsel and Advice for Dean, Science Division Students" | |

| | | |
|----------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Oct. 11 | "Personal and Social Factors in Adjustment" | Dean, Science Division |
| Oct. 18 | "The Objectives of the Home Economics Division" | Home Economics Division |
| Nov. 8 | "Social Adjustment of College Students" | Director, social life |
| Nov. 15 | "Learning in the Home Management House" | Head, home management department |
| Nov. 22 | "Our World Today" | |
| Dec. 6 | "Where Are Our Graduates?" | |
| Dec. 13 | "The Christmas Spirit" | Head, religious education department |
| Jan. 27 | "Menu Planning for Organized College Groups" | Head, institutional management |
| Feb. 28 | "Scholarship" | Dean, Junior College |
| Mar. 27 | "The Aesthetic Attitude" | Head, English and speech department |
| April 24 | "History of Iowa State Board of Education" | Member, State Board |

A glance at the agenda indicates the range of educational objectives considered relevant to the housing program. Residence directors, far from being what they once were—kindly "housemothers" who provided an environment as nearly like home as possible—are now teachers performing personnel functions. Gradually, through such programs as these, their efforts are becoming more professionalized and more integrated with the campus educational program.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

A similar device for the in-service training of rooming-house supervisors, called "residence hostesses," consists at Michigan State College of weekly meetings to hear and discuss presentations by local faculty members of important topics related to the improvement of living arrangements. The presentation one week is followed the next by discussions by small groups with common interests and activities, such as dormitory hostesses, cooperative hostesses, sorority hostesses, and off-campus hostesses. The sample agenda indicates the scope of the material discussed:

| Date | Topic | Speaker |
|---------|--|---|
| Oct. 15 | "It's the Picture of Health" | 1) Physician, Health Service 2) Head, nutrition department |
| Oct. 22 | Discussions: "Health Objectives and Food" | |
| Oct. 29 | "State's Philosophy in Regard to the Personnel Program" | President of the College |
| Nov. 5 | Discussions: "House Organization and Social Objectives" | |
| Nov. 12 | "Sociological Backgrounds and their Significance to Us in Counseling Students" | Assistant professor of sociology |
| Nov. 19 | Discussions: "Understanding Our Students" | |
| Nov. 26 | Social function for all residence hostesses | Dormitory hostesses |
| Dec. 3 | "Resources for Living" | Director of YWCA |

SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUES

One important problem which colleges face as they attempt to meet the needs of students in campus living arrangements involves the question, "How can we *study* the interaction between persons in a group so as to identify the needs of the group or the individual?" The importance to the individual's growth and development of his place in a group, of how he satisfies his needs for belonging, likeness-to-others, and affectional relations are recognized. The problem, however, of determining what causes the feelings of belonging or not belonging, of identifying the factors which create security or insecurity is the difficult problem of measuring the forces of social interaction.

Some of the cooperating colleges have found a promising approach to this problem in the sociometric techniques described by Moreno in his *Who Shall Survive?* A principal idea in Moreno's method is that *insight* can be gained into group structures by find-

ing out who chooses whom in answer to such questions as: "(1) Whom would you choose as a roommate? (Give first three choices). (2) Whom would you like best to eat with? (Give first three choices)." And so on. A study of responses helps to identify the popular person (chosen often), the rejected person (chosen infrequently or not at all), the clique (persons who mutually select each other), and the aspirants (persons choosing those who do not choose them). A brief description of efforts at Antioch College will suggest how this method may have practical value in understanding the place of the individual in a group.

At Antioch College, some senior students live in freshman halls as hall advisers. One hall adviser, in connection with a course in Counseling Methods, tried to determine the amount of integration within a new freshman hall. She assumed that integration—a feeling of unity and mutual acceptance among the twelve girls in the hall—was educationally important since those who felt accepted by the group would be emotionally secure and hence more capable of growth, while those who were "outside" the group would be fighting battles within themselves that would impede personal adjustment.

TABLE 1
FIRST THREE CHOICES* OF ROOMMATE BY TWELVE GIRLS
IN ONE RESIDENCE HALL

| INDIVIDUALS | OWN CHOICES | | | NUMBER OF TIMES CHOSEN BY OTHERS | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| R..... | H | L | A | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| O..... | A | S‡ | † | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| B..... | Q | † | † | 1 | 1 | ..... |
| Q..... | B | C | J | 1 | 1 | ..... |
| A..... | H | † | O | 1 | ..... | 1 |
| C..... | L | Q | P | 1 | 1 | ..... |
| L..... | C | B | S‡ | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| F..... | H | L | X‡ | 1 | ..... | 1 |
| H..... | F | L | † | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| J..... | M | † | † | ..... | 1 | 1 |
| M..... | H | J | † | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| T..... | † | † | L | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| X‡..... | † | † | † | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| S‡..... | † | † | † | ..... | 1 | 1 |

* Fourth and fifth choices are eliminated to simplify the table and sociogram in Fig. 2, p. 100.

† A choice outside the hall.

‡ X and S were the hall advisers.

..... Not chosen first by anyone.

After the girls had lived together for three weeks, they were asked to make "five choices of roommates in order of preference." The girls were informed that the study would be anonymous and that choices could be made of girls living outside the hall. The results are indicated in Table 1.

A number of interesting and suggestive observations can be made about these data:

(1) When the hall advisers' choices are eliminated, 60 percent of the choices were for members of the group within the hall, 40 percent for girls outside the hall. Ninety-two percent of the first choices were for girls within the group. (2) There were three mutual first choices (L and C; F and H; B and Q) and one mutual second choice (Q and C). (3) R made all choices within the group, but was not chosen by any girl. (4) T was the only girl to make a first choice outside the group; she was chosen by no one except as R's fifth choice. (5) No Japanese girl chose any other Japanese girl for a roommate. (6) The least-chosen girls (R, T, M, F, and A) chose H and L (the most chosen girls) predominantly.

These are observations, it is true, of rough data, for we are not sure that each girl made a choice on the same basis, that the intensity of feeling accompanying choices was similar, or that these choices might not have been quite different a day, week, or month later. Nevertheless, in spite of uncertainties, these responses have tremendous value in suggesting the structuring of the group by identifying who is attractive to the group or rejected by them, who is a leader, and who is isolated.

A close study of Table 1 or Figure 2 suggests, for example, that H and L tend to be stars of attraction. As leaders of the group, therefore, they are potentially strong. Hall advisers would do well to recognize their status with other hall residents in the performance of such functions as committee work or developing a hall social program.

Individual R is not chosen by anyone although all of her choices are for girls within the group! R is a "star of rejection." As would be expected, R made efforts to win approval. Her hall adviser reported that R "wants 'to change people's opinion' of her. She believes the girls in the hall think she is a bit 'straight-laced, prim, and conservative.'" R proceeded to overcome this impression by

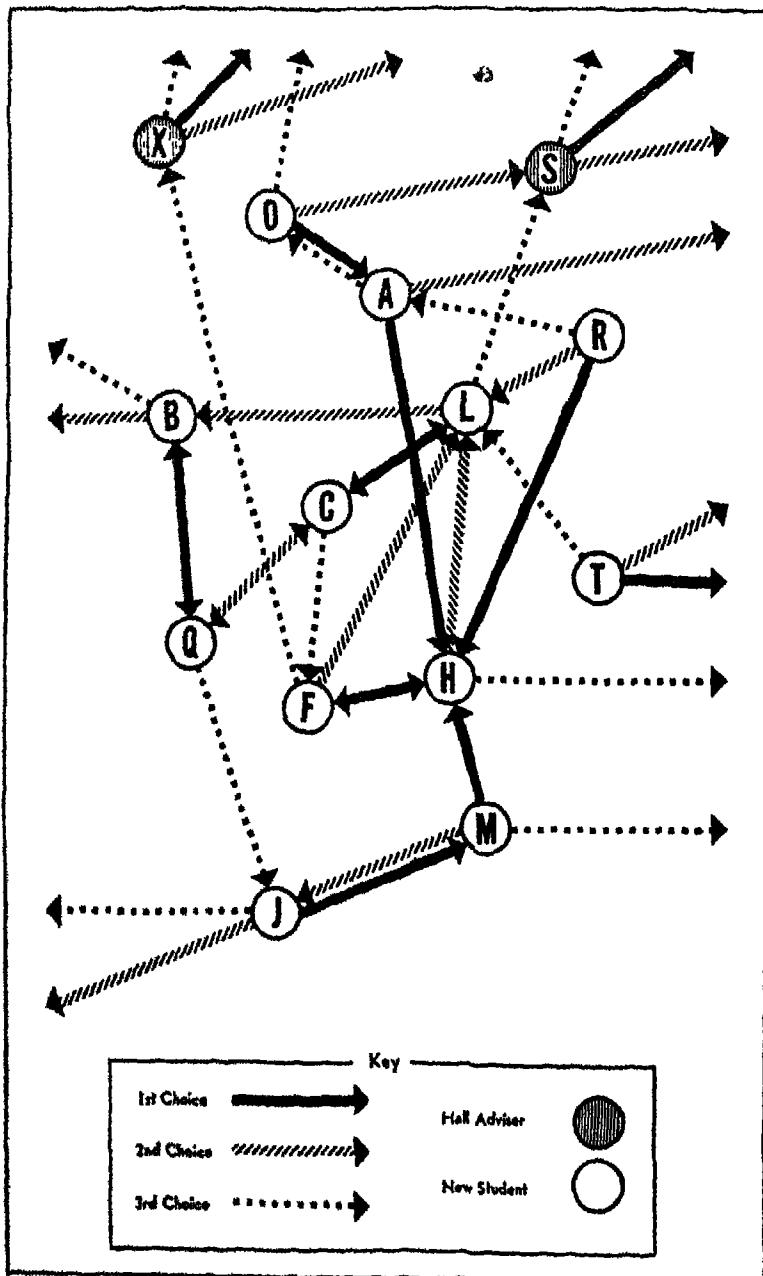


Fig. 2. Sociogram showing first three choices of roommate by twelve girls in one residence hall.

"letting go" and "acting crazy" and "letting her hair down." In addition, she conducted a "little experiment," as she put it: she put paper and a box in the hall and asked the other girls to drop in criticisms of her. They did. "The responses ranged," continued the adviser, "from 'nothing wrong' to 'stop acting like a moron.'" This behavior suggests considerable emotional disturbance over not belonging and naïve attempts to surmount the difficulty. The sociogram, as early as the third week of the quarter, was helpful in suggesting the basis for R's erratic, emotionally insecure behavior.

As a technique for measuring integration within the hall, the sociometric approach seems very suggestive also. Pronounced cliquishness seems absent; most choices are within the hall, suggesting satisfaction among the girls with the persons they live with. Most of them seem valued by the others of the group. Those who do not (for example, R) are indicated in the sociogram and may receive immediate, special attention and help.

Summary of Principles

In summary, the following principles and concepts underlie the practices we have discussed in this chapter:

1. Living arrangements are potentially educative since the individual's personal-social relations constitute an important aspect of his total development.
2. Living arrangements should be integrated with the total educational program.
3. Living arrangements provide unique educational experience since in no other situation in college does the intimate personal life of the student come into as sharp a focus.
4. The dormitory (residence hall, fraternity or sorority house, off-campus home) may be operated in terms of principles which (a) recognize student needs, and (b) underlie a program designed to produce maximum personal development in ability to live with others.

Pre- and Postcollege Personnel Services

IN THE continuous efforts of colleges to make their programs more effective, they are reaching out in precollege and postcollege personnel services. In this chapter we shall state the reasons for these efforts, together with the objectives which current practices are endeavoring to attain.

The rationale for pre- and postcollege personnel services involves two basic general assumptions which are derived from a personnel philosophy of education.

1. College experience affects the total development of the student. The validity of this general assumption depends upon two concepts: one, that the organism is unified; two, that experience throughout life is unified. By the unity of the organism we refer to the fact that intellectual, emotional, and physical activities are inextricably linked within the organism. Although in some situations the emphasis may be upon intellectual activity—for example, in the classroom—the emotions, feelings, and physical conditions of the individual are factors which affect this intellectual activity. To each experience the student brings a complex of ideas, habits, feelings, and the like, which are an expression of the unity, the oneness, of his personality. Inevitably, therefore, any experience directed toward one aspect of the personality—for example, toward the development of the ability to think critically, an intellectual activity—will produce concomitant learnings through the reactions that students make to their physical environment, to persons around them, or to the relevance of the experience to their needs. Thus, all experiences on the campus will affect the total development of the student.

The total life-experience of the individual is unified. Just as the physical organism maintains a unity from birth to death, so the

personality maintains a unity. The past is related to the present; the present foreshadows the future behavior of the individual. No experience of learning occurs apart from its relationship to previous experience. New material is always learned by associating it with old material. To affect total development most effectively, therefore, the college must know the past experience of the individual—at least those aspects of it which are significant for the new experience. The personal resources of the student—his skills, abilities, interests, beliefs, and information--which are to be changed through the educational experience in college will change only when his personal resources upon admission are taken into account. In order to take them into account, the college must know whence they came. That is, skill in social relations, for example, is a result of previous experiences in the home, with friends among peers, and in the school; to change—to improve—the individual's skill in social relations, it is necessary to know more precisely the situations and conditions leading to the present skill (or lack of it). In other words, life must be seen as a continuum.

2. Effective total development of the student is dependent upon a continuous related experience which meets needs. This assumption, closely allied to the first, may be broken down into two sub-assumptions.

Effective total development through the educational program involves meeting the needs and purposes of the students. Both needs and purposes arise from previous experience so that an understanding of the goals of the student and of his needs depends upon the effective use of information about such previous experiences. The concept of learning states that motivation to reach goals to which the learning is related is an essential to learning. In order to relate learning to goals, we must know, of course, what the goals are and why the student wants to achieve them. An understanding of his purposes obviously cannot be made very accurately simply either (a) by making a general assumption that all students are interested in learning experiences or they would not be in college, or (b) by asking students what their purposes are, since frequently individuals are unaware of the basic reasons for their desire to achieve certain goals. We need to have the perspective of a student's total life-experience in its gross outlines

(and in some instances in its specific details) in order to appreciate not only what his goals are but also why he has them and how intensively he feels about them.

Similarly, in appraising the needs of students, we must recognize the significance of previous experience. Knowing where students are with respect to personal resources is dependent in part upon understanding how they arrived where they are. For example, a student is tested upon admission to college, and it is found that he can read the textbook material at the rate of 100 words per minute. In the judgment of the college a rate of 200 words per minute for this kind of material is essential for academic proficiency. This student, therefore, has the need to increase his reading speed by 100 words a minute. To meet this need most effectively, however, the college must recognize the motivation of the student: he may not want to read more rapidly. They must recognize the satisfactions or dissatisfactions which his reading skill brought him in previous academic situations. They must relate his reading skill to such factors as his innate ability, his visual acuity, his reading habits, and the kinds of uses that he makes of reading skill. In other words, in order to understand his present needs, in order to plan an effective program to meet them, the needs must be understood as an expression of previous experience.

Self-understanding, an essential component in total development, is dependent upon the student's knowledge of his goals and how he may achieve them. This assumption asserts that life should have a plan in order to make effective living more likely. A realization of his goals, of how they originate in past experiences and are being modified continually by present experiences, of the personal resources needed to achieve them, is necessary for the student's effective learning. The essential unity of experience must be verbalized so that the student can analyze it, see common trends, see the relations of present experience to past experience, and plan to seek experiences in the future which will be in keeping with the continuous realization of goals.

Objectives

The implications of these assumptions may be seen in four gen-

eral objectives which many colleges of the Cooperative Study are endeavoring to realize through their pre- and postcollege services.

TO MEET THE NEEDS OF STUDENTS

The objective of meeting the needs of students through the admissions and postcollege programs is accomplished in part by developing, on the basis of admissions data, a suitable program of studies for each individual. Formerly, the only information about the student's previous academic experiences consisted usually of the high school transcript. Since the college program was very frequently inflexible, the knowledge about the student's secondary school program was of little practical use, except perhaps to meet accreditation requirements. The effort, however, to individualize the educational experience demands much more extensive information about previous academic experiences. To this end, colleges not only secure the official high school transcript, but also ask the student such questions as the following: "What subjects in high school did you like the best? The least? Why? Which subjects did you find most difficult? Least difficult?" They also inquire what purposes a student has in attending college, what goals he expects college experience to help him achieve. They want to know whether his vocational selection is tentative or certain in his own mind, whether he and his parents agree or disagree on his vocational goals. They inquire, too, about intellectual interests, asking such questions as: "What books have you read lately? What magazines do you habitually read? What newspapers? What musical or artistic interests and hobbies do you have?" All such information may have relevance to the planning of an effective academic program for the student.

Colleges are attempting to meet the needs of students through extra-class activities. Accordingly, entrance information which is useful in such planning includes indications of the student's high school extra-class experiences and their meaning to him. His personal characteristics, such as are involved, for example, in relations with others, are appraised through rating scales, personality schedules, questionnaires to parents, employers, and former teachers. Colleges want to know, too, his home background: the education of the parents, the attitude toward the student's educational

program, the health level of the home, the socio-economic background. The relation between the student and his parents is indicated in responses to such questions as: "What activities do you participate in with your father? your mother? What hobbies do you share with your parents?" Colleges want to know about the student's relations with brothers and sisters and with age peers. All of this type of information is necessary in effective use of the extra-class program to meet the needs of the individual student.

In addition, such admissions information is essential to creating the conditions for good directive counseling. For one thing, the student, having filled out extensive admissions blanks in which he checked his likes and dislikes and numerous facts about himself is generally predisposed to feel that the college is interested in him as a person and does not see him simply as another student. When in the initial interview the counselor indicates his understanding of the preadmission data, the conditions for rapport are likely created.

More than this, the counselor has essential information for educational planning. During the first week or two of college important decisions must be made. A selection of courses must be approved, rooming arrangements must be settled upon, and so on. The counselor, having in mind a more adequate picture of the student than if he met him "cold" on registration day, is in a better position to assist the student in making decisions appropriate to the total development of the student.

Finally, admissions data are valuable in assisting the student to visualize his life-plan. When courses of study in high school and college are written down so that they may be seen as a continuum of academic experience; when the social experience, physical development, the changes in life-goals, and the development in understanding of self and the place of self in the scheme of things are seen in perspective, the ability of the student to understand his development and to project himself into the future is enhanced. Sometimes colleges have devised cumulative records kept by the student in which his total experience with respect to whatever he deems significant factors may be graphically and quickly seen. For example, the experience in or out of the classroom from elementary school through college may be recorded in such a way that

development of abilities, differences and similarities in interests, growth in understanding and insights, and changes in the adequacy of life-goals may be cumulatively recorded in a kind of life-plan notebook. Such a student-maintained cumulative record serves to emphasize in the mind of the student the fact we have already asserted—that life has unity and is a continuum of related experience. The verbalization—getting out into words and talking about it—of a life-plan extending into adult years clarifies the relation of present to future goals and of present experience to past experience. Finally, the life-plan record, kept by the student, places the responsibility for the totality of experience squarely upon the shoulders of the student, who inevitably is the one most interested in his life.

TO AVOID DIFFICULTIES BY ANTICIPATING THEM

The value of the admissions personnel data in avoiding difficulties by anticipating them arises when judgments must be made on the basis of some knowledge of the student's personality as to the appropriateness of the college program in meeting his needs.

At one college where a staff of admissions counselors is employed to interview students, their parents, and their friends, months and sometimes a year or two before admission to college, many difficulties are anticipated and avoided. The admissions counselor may judge that a given student would not profit enough from the program of the college to warrant his attending and can make such judgments to the student and his parents. Or, the admissions counselor in talking with an eleventh grade girl may identify as one of her needs a deficiency in reading skill which she can then improve in anticipation of her needed skill in college. Because such judgments by admissions counselors are made only after an exhaustive study of test results and a close acquaintance with the student and his family, their accuracy is likely to be good. No doubt, numerous failures during the first year in college have been prevented and students have decided not to attend college at all because of the lack of correspondence between their purposes and those of the college, or because they do not have the requisite abilities and interests.

At Allegheny College the admissions program has been or-

ganized to include an Educational Guidance Clinic. Both students who intend to go to Allegheny and students who have no such intention are eligible to come to the clinic, which is held for one week in June. At the clinic students take a battery of aptitude, subject-matter, and personality tests and inventories. Each student is interviewed by a faculty counselor. Their behavior in group situations is observed. Upon completion of all the testing and interviewing, the clinic staff discusses each student. They raise such questions as the following: "In terms of college work, what are the characteristics of this student? What capacities does he have; what deficiencies and special aptitudes? What purposes and interests? What other resources in social skill, in attitudes, would he bring to the college experience?" As a result of tentative answers judgments may be made regarding the needs of the student and how the college program may meet them. Some students are frankly discouraged from attending Allegheny; some of them may be encouraged to find other avenues of training and educational experience. Those who want to attend Allegheny and are acceptable may be immediately referred, for example, for special work to remedy deficiencies in reading or personal adjustment. Included on the staff of the clinic are psychologists, directors of specialized services such as the Reading Clinic and the Health Clinic, as well as faculty members without specialized duties.

It should be stressed that the Educational Guidance Clinic is fundamentally an effort, first, to assist the student to know himself in order that he may make decisions about attending college, about the selection of courses and the development of an extra-class program which are appropriate to his optimum total development, and in the second place, to provide the college with some insight as to how their own program may be improved to meet the varying needs of individuals.

TO INTEGRATE THE COLLEGE PROGRAM WITH THE STUDENT'S PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

If the curriculum of the college is to be most effectively integrated with the student's previous experience in academic situations and with his needs, there must be channels through which

the information and understandings derived from the admissions program may reach those responsible for the work of the classroom. One such channel is identity of personnel: for instance, in many colleges faculty members are being utilized during the school year as well as during vacation months to contact students before they come to the college. The kinds of insights and information secured by such faculty members in visiting with parents and secondary school people as well as students tend to increase their awareness of student needs and to enable them to improve the ways whereby classroom instruction may be adapted to these needs.

Another channel is through the study of admissions data for an entire group. One college, for example, summarized the responses of students to an extensive entrance information blank and pointed out in a bulletin to the faculty the implications of these findings. We may quote from this summary by way of illustration.

It was found that 70 percent of the freshmen attended college principally to prepare for a vocation. The implication of this general finding was stated as follows:

Interpretation of purposes in attending college.—The striking predominance of "preparing for a vocation" as the chief purpose in attending college suggests several explanations:

1. Students really are practical and utilitarian in their expressed purposes.
2. Students state a vocational aim because that is easily expressed, implies no difficult personal factors which might later embarrass them, and is obviously a worthy purpose.
3. Students are only vaguely aware at best of the exact nature of other possible purposes in attending college and hence of other values to expect from the college experience.

It was also found, for example, that the leisure reading of students was principally in fiction and biographies, the two together accounting for 94 percent of the kinds of books read. The magazines constituting leisure reading were exceedingly diverse in type but the predominant interest was in the *Reader's Digest* (46 percent), *Life* (19 percent), *American Magazine* (18 percent), *Saturday Evening Post* (13 percent), and *Collier's* (11 percent). The implication for the teaching of English was stated in this report as follows:

1. The overwhelming enthusiasm for fiction, biographies, and the *Reader's Digest* indicates where the college experience must start if it is to "raise" leisure-reading habits. This is not a situation to bewail but to recognize. If today's student is to read tomorrow's *Harper's* and the better nonfiction "for the fun of it" because his intellectual interests have been habituated to better reading through his college experience, we must not only start where the freshman is and raise him gradually; we must also do our utmost to make the newer reading part-and-parcel of his everyday living.

2. The list of magazines read for leisure at home will give valuable clues to the cultural background of the student. Such clues are invaluable in understanding the way in which a student will react to his college experience.

TO EXTEND THE COMMUNITY SERVICES OF THE COLLEGE

As colleges move toward a greater recognition of their existence as laboratories for living, as they increase their closeness of contact with the lives of students off the campus, as they learn to know parents and friends, and as they continue to keep in touch with graduates through alumni clubs, adult education programs, and postcollege employment services, colleges increasingly become centers of community service. The wall around the campus is being broken down. The function of education as it relates to living today increasingly involves responsibility by the college for improving the social milieu of the community and in this way, as well as others, for contributing more effectually to the total improvement of society.

At Macalester College, an adult education program has been instituted recently. Lectures and discussions relating to such subjects as appreciation and enjoyment of literature, improvement in the skill of writing, and the study of political and social problems of the day, constitute some of the courses available at a very nominal fee to anyone. This is a sample of the kind of adult education engaged in by many colleges and probably foreshadows a gradual extension of the work of the classroom in meeting the needs of the community at large.

Another illustration of the effort to reach out into the community is found in the closer articulation between high school and college through exchange of teaching personnel and through

meetings where secondary school and college teachers may work together toward the solution of common problems.

A third type of community service is illustrated at Northwest Missouri State Teachers College where Julian Aldrich has been working with one of the local service clubs to identify the social attitudes in the community by means of the Inventory of Social Understanding and the Inventory of Beliefs about Postwar Reconstruction.¹

Problems Needing Further Study

RECRUITING VERSUS ADMISSIONS COUNSELING

It is no secret that colleges frequently, for reasons sometimes beyond their control, must scramble in the open market for their students. Administrators under pressure from alumni, trustees, and their own self-interest feel that the college enrollment should be expanded or that strenuous efforts to recruit the best students for admission are essential to the maintenance of high academic standards.

Regardless of causes the fact remains that for most colleges the competition for students is keen and results in many nefarious practices which are incompatible with a counseling point of view. High schools in many areas have been compelled to set aside certain days as the only time when college representatives may talk with students during school hours. On these college days, representatives are invited to sit in the gymnasium or library while students are dismissed from classes to talk about their college plans. At one such college day in a metropolitan high school where 5 percent of the 400 seniors were expected to continue in college, there were sixty-five colleges represented! The representatives were often competitive, using in their bartering for students such things as athletic or academic scholarships, promises of jobs, assurance of courses of study that would interest students, but most of all emphasizing the "good time" that students would have. The high school seniors, about eighty at a time, filed past the tables, examining catalogs, brochures, year-

¹See A. W. Levi, *General Education in the Social Studies* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1948).

books, and motion picture displays. They frequently caught the spirit of competition. One student naïvely said to a representative: "X college will give me a tuition scholarship; what will you give me?"

Under such circumstances it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the college representative to be objectively and genuinely interested in the welfare of the student. The pressure upon him to win the student is too great. Such representatives are in some cases paid on a commission basis; the more students, the more salary.

Experiences of the cooperating colleges of the Study in combating this situation suggest two things. In the first place, one way of reducing or eliminating the need to compete for students is to improve the college program so much that the admissions program may be genuinely one of selecting from among applicants those who can most profit from experience at the college. This is a long range effort, but it seems to hold out the greatest hope for combating the necessity for open competition. A second, and by no means alternative, means is through the development of an admissions counseling program. College representatives should certainly be on a salary basis. Every effort should be made in the selection of these representatives from among faculty or others to insure their professional competence. They should have faculty status and should in so far as possible have a part in the planning and execution of policies regarding the content of class and extra-class activities.

A good illustration of the latter type of program is that at one college where admissions counselors are professionally trained, their judgment regarding the admissibility of students is recognized and they are intimately related to the college's program for curricular development. They work with the directors of residence halls in improving the living conditions to meet the needs of students. In the case of individual students, they are frequently called in for consultations. Their notes on interviews with parents and their judgments regarding appropriate courses of study and extra-class activities are an integral part of the cumulative personnel record of the student. Far from being those who "drum up trade" for the college, they are an extension of the personnel services.

**IMPROVING ARTICULATION BETWEEN THE COLLEGE PROGRAM
AND THE POSTCOLLEGE EXPERIENCE**

A shibboleth in American education today is that education is preparation for life. The phrase holds a strong element of truth, for experience shows that the kind of education most effective in changing behavior of individuals is that which meets their needs for living in a democratic society. The ways in which the life of the adult citizen may be anticipated in a college curriculum and extra-class experience present the crucial problem.

On the one hand, colleges have sometimes attempted to build a curriculum entirely to anticipate the specific activities of adults. Such an effort is the well-known study by W. W. Charters years ago as a result of which the curriculum at Stephens College was modified in terms of the kinds of activities in which alumnae engage. At the other extreme is the college curriculum which is entirely blinded, if that is possible, to the exigencies of modern living. It tends to stress the "cultural heritage." The curriculum consists, therefore, of the classical studies as ends in themselves. The methods of instruction tend to rely upon the intrinsic value of the historical approach. The function of the college is primarily to pass on the wisdom of the ages as embodied in books.

The experience of the Study has shown the importance of studying the conditions of modern living. The over-all objective of the college is to affect the total development of each student in such a way that he will become a more effective citizen. Consequently, the personal resources needed for living happily and effectively in a democratic society are the focus of attention. When, furthermore, the campus is seen as in fact a society where, for example, the principles of democracy may be lived; where qualities of leadership, sense of responsibility, and independence may be fostered; where the social skills required in the give-and-take of group deliberation are developed; and where the line of demarcation between college and postcollege experience becomes less and less noticeable—in such situations the articulation between college and postcollege experiences becomes strong and apparent to the student. Identical elements in adult life and campus life increase the resources such as skills, abilities, and attitudes which are necessary for effective adjustment in college and which are precisely the resources needed for effective ad-

justiment in adult society. The basis then for improving articulation between college and adult life seems to be the development of a college program which, on the one hand, recognizes the importance of the student's precollege experience as a foundation on which to build a meaningful college experience and, which, on the other hand, incorporates into the college program those facts of adult life which are appropriate to college living.

Specialized Personnel Services

ANOTHER ASPECT of the college program is the specialized service, such as the testing bureau, the health clinic, and the reading clinic. These services have functions and purposes which are identical with or similar to those of classroom teaching, counseling, or extra-class activities. In general, however, they utilize unique methods and, to a lesser extent, unique content that justify their classification as a distinctive aspect of the college program. So far as method is concerned, they tend to work with selected individuals rather than with all students; and the content, the subject matter, the ideas, the concepts, and the information they utilize tend to be that of specialized persons.

Specialized services must be seen as one of many means for affecting student behavior. The notion of specialist cannot be pushed too far, either, for is not the philosophy instructor or the administrator a specialist, too? And do not classroom instructors and counselors work with individuals? Thus, the designation "specialized services" should be viewed as more convenient than logical. The important consideration is: What educational purposes are served? How? How well? What problems occur? With such questions this chapter is concerned.

In order to indicate more explicitly the kinds of educating services we shall report on in this chapter, a brief list of so-called specialized services found among the cooperating colleges, together with their chief functions, is given below. It should be clear that the following list is only suggestive of the scope of specialized, clinical work; it is not a recommended pattern, for each of the cooperating colleges is evolving its own program to meet its unique needs.

1. *Health clinic or service*

Diagnosis and treatment of individual cases; supervision of total health program, including teaching of courses in physiology; entrance health examination of all students; in-service training programs for counselors and teachers; research; etc.

2. *Psychological clinic or service*

Diagnosis and treatment of individual cases; teaching of psychology, mental hygiene, orientation, etc.; cooperation in training of counselors and teachers; research; etc.

3. *Academic clinics or specialized services*

- a)** Reading clinic
- b)** Speech clinic
- c)** Library
- d)** English usage
- e)** Others

Diagnosis of reading and speech difficulties; treatment; teaching; cooperation with teachers in making the classroom, group programs more individualized; research, etc.

4. *Testing bureau*

Fact-finding through tests of aptitudes, interests, skills; development of tests used in classroom; comprehensive group testing; interpretation of test results; cooperation with teachers in refinement of fact-finding program; research; etc.

5. *Vocational guidance clinic or service*

Diagnosis and counseling individuals regarding vocational choices, preparation, and so on; testing; teaching; cooperation with teachers and counselors; research; etc.

6. *Others*

- a)** Posture and relaxation clinic
- b)** Grooming clinic
- c)** Personal finance
- d)** Clothing

Diagnosis for and assistance to individuals in improvement of posture, grooming, etc.; cooperation with teachers and counselors; teaching; research.

Genesis of Specialized Services

The origin of the specialized services such as we have listed was rooted in the conviction that if the total personality of the student was to be the concern of the college, the job was too complex to be coped with satisfactorily alone by classroom teachers, administrators, and counselors.

The nature of the specialized service—its clinical aspects at least—originated outside the college in such activities as social service work, the psychological and psychiatric clinic, the health clinic, and so on. In these nonacademic approaches to an understanding of the individual the colleges found the cue to their own individualized program. The clinic idea was appropriated and modified to meet educational purposes. These modifications often proceeded slowly so that sometimes the clinic remains diagnostic and analytical; in others, however, the emphasis upon growth, upon changing behavior, upon preventive control—in short, upon educational purposes—has revised the concept of the clinic into an agency of a specialized sort to perform educational functions which are well integrated with the total college program. Under its former aegis, the specialized service was like a fifth wheel, a supplementary service to call on in case of trouble; under the new concept, it is complementary, assuming its rightful place alongside classroom teaching as *another* service or means used by the college to attain educational purposes.

Functions of Specialized Services

One way of getting a clearer idea of the various specialized services is to consider their functions. We may list six ways in which these services operate: (1) diagnosis; (2) remedial work; (3) prevention; (4) cooperation with teachers and other agencies in the college program; (5) teaching—for example, a course in mental hygiene; and (6) research.

Each of these functions may be performed in a unique, supplementary, or complementary fashion. For example, the health clinic makes a diagnosis from urinalysis, blood test, X-ray, and a general physical examination by a medical doctor. This service is *unique* to the health clinic. In addition, the diagnosis recognizes as valid the behavioral records sent in by the student's counselor and teachers: the health clinic diagnosis *supplements* the health "picture" of the student derived from other agencies. Finally, the specialized service *complements* the work of others: the health clinic's diagnosis completes the *total* picture of the student built up by all agencies on campus.

THE DIAGNOSTIC FUNCTION

A fundamental tenet of the belief that education should change behavior asserts that knowledge must first be secured as to "where the student is" before programs designed to change that student can be effective. Diagnosis, therefore, is an essential, preliminary step in any sphere of educational activity. Because diagnosis of the information, skills, abilities, attitudes, and interests of complex human beings is difficult at best, the specialized services are often called upon to supplement the appraisals of students by other campus agencies. For example, the testing bureau of one college was approached by a biology instructor for assistance in determining the effect of ability to read upon success in his courses. A reading comprehension test consisting of writings in biology was constructed and administered. Other relevant test data on these students were brought into the picture. The instructor was better able, as a result of these efforts of the testing bureau, to identify those students whose lack of reading ability primarily caused their difficulty in biology.

In another college, a student was consistently failing in most of her courses. She was a heavy-set, ungainly girl. Her behavior was excessively lethargic—nothing interested her, not even boys. Other students tolerated her. Teachers tried by every means in their power to stimulate her interest in study. She persistently refused to budge. The specialized services entered the picture to supply *supplementary* as well as *unique* information: a physical examination revealed no glandular disturbance, a normal health history, an essentially sound body; the psychological clinic, however, found evidence of emotional conflict about sex matters, temper tantrums, puerility, an IQ of 114, a special aptitude for music, marked fears in social relations because of difficulty with her parents. This information, complemented by all other data, was used in a "case conference" where ways in which the college could assist her toward more effective living were evolved.

Because diagnosis is a familiar function of specialized services, one or two further comments should be made. There is great danger that the functioning of the specialized service may stop after diagnosis. Sometimes health services stop with the physical examination and remedial treatment instead of working forward

to prevention, teaching, cooperation, and research. The testing bureau may believe its work to be done when tests are administered, scored, and filed. A diagnosis, however, is a function performed *only* for a purpose. Diagnosis as an end in itself is the most futile of all occupations because it raises questions without suggesting constructive ways of attacking the problems.

A second danger is that instructors and others not directly involved in the work of the specialized service may tend to remain aloof. This aloofness is expressed by instructors, for example, who are unconcerned about their relation to the specialized service. They say, in effect, "Why should I be interested in health as a factor in the classroom performance of students? We have a health service; it is their job to think about such things." Sometimes those responsible for the specialized services are equally aloof. One college physician said bluntly, "Teachers can't be trusted with medical information. Let them come to me if they want an interpretation of a student. And I'm too busy to do anything about training counselors to use health data properly." Such independence of one service (the specialized) from another (the teaching) makes a coordination of effort impossible; the work of each is handicapped through the loss of perspective and balance, and, of course, students are in the long run the losers through a less effective educational program.

THE REMEDIAL FUNCTION

Since remedying the conditions diagnosed by the specialized services involves expert judgment, information, and specialized skill, the remedial function can easily become the sole prerogative of the specialized agencies. However, the cooperating colleges, realizing the necessity for integrating the specialized services with the total program of the college in the interests of the total growth of the student, have been working consistently toward incorporating the work of others, when possible, in performing the remedial function.

In the case of individual students the remedial function may also affect the work of others. For example, the lethargic student, whose lack of interest in academic matters resulted, according to the diagnosis of the psychological clinic, from conflict about

sex and from social ineptitude, was drawn to the attention of counselors and teachers with specific recommendations for the kinds of experiences she needed. Thus, the counselor was urged to help her participate in extra-class life; because she manifested particular talent in music, social activities in the musical organizations were recommended. The music teacher was drawn into the picture.

THE PREVENTIVE FUNCTION

Diagnosis and remedy are often but preliminary steps to prevention. To this end, the testing bureau attempts to identify students who have reading difficulties *before* they fail; the health clinic examines all students for incipient or active tuberculosis *before* the infection spreads; the psychological clinic works through the orientation program to create a feeling among students of confidence in themselves; the vocational guidance clinic works to clarify vocational goals *before* students face the necessity of making a choice. As one college physician put it, "If we could develop a foolproof system of prevention, we should have no need of diagnosis and temporary remedies." One criterion of effectiveness of the specialized service is how it prevents the very conditions which often justify its presence on the campus.

THE COOPERATIVE FUNCTION

To fulfill the cooperative function involves relating the work of one specialized service to that of others and to the total college program. Cooperative action arises from the conviction that a well-integrated program is more effective in achieving educational objectives than a program of diverse, separate agencies operating independently. Various ways of securing and maintaining cooperation have been used by the specialized services of the cooperating colleges.

1. Cooperation through interchange of information: In several colleges, devices have been worked out for routine interchange of information between the specialized service and counselors, teachers, residence directors, employment officers, and administrators. For example, health reports on all new students are often sent to counselors as routine. Entrance-test data similarly find

their way to counselors and teachers. In the case of special referrals, for example to the speech clinic, the teacher or counselor who referred the student gets a memorandum from the clinician containing a notation of what is being done or planned for the student, what help the referring person can be as teacher or counselor, and so on. This practice of continuous cross-campus interchange of information is essential to mutual efficiency, common understanding, and the more effective realization of common purposes.

2. Cooperation through interclinic discussions: Another effective means of promoting cooperative action is interclinic meetings. These serve what might be called "humanizing" purposes as well as educational purposes. That is, a variety of specialists—the vocational guidance expert, the physician, the psychologist, the expert in tests and measurements—are enabled through frequent semisocial and professional contacts to make a team that pulls together. The theory of cooperation has little difficulty in being intellectually approved; but in practice, as everyone knows, we tend to cooperate only with those with whom we share common aims, interests, and aspirations. Such a *feeling* of unity in a group is fostered by interclinic discussion.

At one college, staff members of the various clinics meet bi-weekly for a luncheon meeting, followed by a discussion of various matters relating to the integration of their common work. Discussions have been held on such matters as (1) particular cases of students whose development can best be furthered by the pooled efforts of the several services; (2) cases which illustrate concepts that one service—for example, the study and reading clinic—feels are important for staff members to have in related fields, such as psychology and health; (3) methods whereby the objectives of the college can more effectively be realized; (4) clarifications of the purposes of the clinics; (5) ways whereby the clinics may integrate their work with classroom instruction and extra-class activities; and so on.

3. Cooperation through case conferences: Staff members from specialized services may unify their work with teachers and counselors more effectively through mutual discussion of a student whose problems present special difficulty. In such case

conferences, the "cross-fertilization" of ideas is invaluable; counselors, teachers, and administrators learn from the clinicians about limitations and resources to recognize in assisting the student; clinicians in turn learn from others the particular behavioral evidence which makes the student a "case," learn to key their efforts to other staff members, learn the best ways of "professionalizing" the teaching staff in terms of the clinical approach.

Following is a summary of the kinds of contributions made at a case conference by teachers and clinicians at Stephens College¹ regarding Miss M and the conclusions reached by the group:

A. Summary of comments by teachers:

Mr. H (Miss M's adviser who called the conference): M is overweight, shy, and feels inferior to other members of the family. Her parents want her to have exploratory courses and some successful experience. She has already dropped philosophy because of difficulties. She was in the lower half of her high school class. She has reading handicaps and is working with Mr. T (reading clinic). M is indecisive—often does not stay with decisions after she has made them. She is hard to get hold of. But recently she seems to be working harder and to be more conscientious. If we're able to do her some good, we might let her stay. Her parents want a vocational choice.

Miss I (instructor, Beginning Acting): M will probably not fail with me. Her writing and spelling are not too good. But her attitude is fine; she tries to do better. She is average; does a pretty good job of memorizing.

Miss O (instructor, Child Study): M has done a lot of work lately. She complains to me about her eyes: for ten weeks she did not read one page. Not animated and harmless. She is earning a D and has missed observation and class periods.

Mrs. R (residence hall director where M lives): M is a weak student. She is stubborn at times, but usually is slow, harmless, and happy.

Mr. I (instructor, Salesmanship): M is not a bit stupid; she has handled in two papers, both graded 100. She is very unobtrusive.

B. The clinicians reported somewhat as follows:

Mr. T (reading clinic): She is a slow reader—about sixth-grade

¹Original report of this case conference provided by Mary D. Bigelow of the administration staff Stephens College.

level. Her level of comprehension is below average. She is, however, making slow progress.

Dr. N (college physician): M has been taking thyroid for a month. She shows some improvement in energy. Her diet is also being regulated. Eyes have been refitted with glasses for near-sightedness which is quite severe.

Mr. M (psychological clinic): M's general intelligence is about average for our students. Her nonverbal intelligence, such as is useful in mathematics, is superior. Her average score on the verbal intelligence test might be accounted for by poor reading ability because of bad eyes and habits.

Miss L (vocational guidance clinic): M's vocational interests are in social service, artistic work, literary work—in that order. In clerical work she is below average in aptitude. Her general pattern of vocational interest shows doubt and confusion, both about her own abilities and about the world at work.

Mr. J (philosophy and religion clinic): M has shied away from us since she dropped philosophy primarily because of reading difficulties. Her Goals of Life² pattern shows marked indecision and confusion with a tendency to place hedonistic and service of self-goals high.

C. *Recommendations made by the conference:*

1. That we continue work with her.
2. That Miss L (vocational guidance clinic), Mr. H (M's adviser), and M explore the area of salesmanship and allied occupations as a vocational possibility.
3. That Dr. N (physician) and Mr. T (reading clinic) continue working with her.
4. That Mr. H (adviser) discuss with parents the outcomes of this conference with a view to (a) orienting them to the necessity of proceeding slowly rather than forcibly in making vocational choices, (b) informing them of the physical conditions (low energy, poor eyes) and reading difficulties which account for poor grades, and (c) informing them of M's high nonverbal intelligence and its possible educational implications.

4. Cooperation through communications laboratories, orientation courses, and the like: The Muskingum College communications laboratories³ are an illustration of how staff members from

²The Inventory of General Life-Goals. See H. B. Dunkel, *General Education in the Humanities* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1947), pp. 21-78, for a discussion of the inventory.

³See chap. vii, pp. 133-36.

the psychological clinic, the speech clinic, the health service, and so on, can step into the communications course at appropriate places to render specialized service in group or individual guidance. The teaching staff and the specialists combine their efforts to adapt instruction to meet individual needs.

5. Cooperation through leadership and guidance: Staff members of the specialized service cooperate with teachers and counselors through untiring efforts to make the clinic, testing bureau, or other service a genuine resource to faculty members. For example, a director of the testing bureau in one large university compiled a "service file" of 5,000 published standardized tests. Acquainted with the information that the service file was available for ready reference for any staff member, the faculty frequently consulted the director to discuss the suitability of these tests for their purposes. Often the director and a teacher constructed new tests to meet new situations; frequently the director's expert knowledge of testing and measuring became an invaluable resource to teachers and counselors. One entire division, under the stimulus of the way in which the director of the testing bureau had interpreted some inventory data on students in the division, undertook an expanded program of evaluation. Central to planning, formulating of objectives, interpreting test data, and replanning was the leadership and guidance of the director. He conceived of the testing bureau as a resource service to all faculty members.

THE TEACHING FUNCTION

In many instances, the staff members of the specialized services are regular teachers with special interests and abilities; they have perhaps studied summers in addition to their regular work for academic degrees; some specialists are of course not teachers. In most cases, however, the staff of the specialized services also teach courses in the regular curriculum. This is thought to have personal advantages in acquainting them with students who are not clinic or special cases and in familiarizing students with them in order to facilitate the use of the specialized services.

THE RESEARCH FUNCTION

Finally, the specialized services conduct research of various types. They assist teachers in studying problems connected with instruction, such as the relation between success on biology reading tests and success in the biology course of a particular teacher, or the analysis of fatigue into its physical and psychological causes. They explore new ways of interrelating their work with that of teachers—for example, one testing bureau experimentally contrasted the data in social science examinations of two types (objective and essay) and attempted to evaluate each in terms of other criteria of learnings presumed to have occurred in the course. They developed new forms for use in reporting on special cases. They explored the possibilities of improving the selection of entrance tests, of increasing the ease and accuracy with which students with special needs could be identified, and so on. The unsolved problems in education are legion; the specialized services are on the frontiers of educational research, particularly since they uniquely combine the role of the teacher who copes with a mass of students with the role of the specialist who copes with only one student at a time.

The Clinical Program at Stephens College

In order to illustrate very briefly the general scope, the objectives, and the work of the specialized services, the work in one institution which has made extensive use of the specialized service may be cited.

The clinic idea at Stephens owes its origin to the evolution of the concept of individualized instruction. When one conceives of education as the process through which the total personality of the student is developed, it becomes apparent that certain needs and interests arise that cannot be met adequately through ordinary classroom instruction, even though that instruction be highly individualized. Hence, clinics are instituted to provide specialized and personalized educational services as well as to furnish corrective treatment as deficiencies appear in the process of the student's development.

The number of clinics functioning in the Stephens program at the present time is thirteen. Listed in the order of their organization they are as follows: health, speech, grooming, clothing, personal, library,

posture and relaxation, vocational guidance, reading-study, religion and philosophy, English usage, personal finance, interior decoration, and psychological. The health clinic, the first to be organized, began functioning in 1918, while the psychological clinic was added in 1940.

The scope of the clinic services can best be expressed in the number of clinic "calls" as shown in the clinic attendance records. The latest report shows approximately seven thousand instances of individual clinical attention, the largest attendance being reported by the health clinic and the smallest by the interior decoration clinic.

Use of the clinics in most instances is entirely voluntary on the part of the student, and no credit is given for work completed. However, a check is made on attendance so that the adviser is informed if the student is failing to keep her scheduled appointments.

Referrals to the clinics may be made by the student's adviser, her instructor, or residence counselor. Ordinarily the referral is made only after a personal conference on the particular needs or problems requiring attention. In other cases the student takes the initiative by applying directly to the clinic and making her own appointment.

Reports of student progress vary in type and frequency, depending upon the clinic and the services being given. In some cases a simple, brief statement that the girl was in attendance is sufficient; in other cases periodic reports may be sent.

The personnel of the clinics is, in the main, provided through the departmental staff. Instructors, especially trained for the work, give part time to the duties of the clinic and part time to teaching. In some departments, however, the full time of a clinician is required.

Some group work has been found practical where the diagnosis shows an identity of difficulty; for example, in the reading-study clinic.

No additional fee is charged for clinic services. The continued student response indicates the feeling that tangible benefits are derived from this type of individual assistance.*

The following report of types of cases coming to the psychological clinic at Stephens in one semester suggests the range of needs being met and services being supplied:

During the second semester of the 1942-43 school year, a period selected as being representative, seventy-five students were referred to the (psychological) clinic for assistance. An indication of the types of problems encountered may be found in the following general classification. It should be noted, however, that these descriptive categories are not mutually exclusive.

* *Stephens College News Reporter*, III (February 1944), 1, 8.

| Types of Cases | Number |
|--|--------|
| 1. Lack of social adjustment | 25 |
| Contributing factors: inadequate or misdirected social experience; overdependence on parents; feelings of inferiority due to sibling rivalry; parental domination; poor physical condition; continuation of childhood evaluations. | |
| 2. Lack of academic achievement | 17 |
| Contributing factors: lack of motivation; emotionalized attitude toward tests; poor physical condition; lack of scholastic aptitude; sibling rivalry; lack of self-discipline; lack of basic preparation. | |
| 3. Lack of emotional adjustment | 11 |
| Contributing factors: overemphasis on scholastic achievement; worry over family affairs; concern over contemplated marriage; religious conflicts; perseveration of childish behavior patterns. | |
| 4. Lack of home security | 6 |
| Contributing factors: lack of parental understanding; foster-parent problems; parents divorced or separated; parent deceased; noncongenial parents. | |
| 5. Lack of adjustment to college environment | 2 |
| Contributing factors: lack of agreement with roommate; over-solicitous parents; homesickness. | |
| 6. Miscellaneous (boy-friend problems; prevarication; daydreaming; evasion of responsibilities; functional health problems; etc.) | 14 |
| Contributing factors: broken friendships; parental domination; exaggerated desire for social approval; overdependence on parents. ⁵ | |

⁴ Stephens College News Reporter, III (October 1943), 3.

Personnel Services in the Classroom

ALL OF US as teachers approach the work of the classroom with some philosophy of education. Our daily decisions as to what and how we shall teach depend upon our understanding of the nature of learning, our judgments of the value of what we are doing, the meaning of our jobs to ourselves, to the students, to the college, and to society as a whole. This philosophy of education may not be satisfactory to us; it may be inconsistent from day to day, or it may have inner inconsistencies between values that are incompatible; we may change it gradually or suddenly; or it may be coherent, clearly thought out, and acceptable. Regardless of *what* it is, however, we do have a philosophy of education which derives from a framework of concepts, beliefs, attitudes, information, and skills which give meaning and purpose to our activities.

This chapter will be concerned with the major concepts of a personnel philosophy which have particular pertinence to the work of the classroom teacher. Each concept will be followed by a discussion of some of the practices of classroom teachers related to it. The particular practices which are discussed are necessarily pulled out of their context; the three introductory descriptions of courses will, therefore, serve to illustrate practices in their context.

Examples of Efforts To Make the Classroom a Personnel Service

EXAMPLE 1: PHILOSOPHY MADE REALISTIC

In a three-hour, one-semester, elective course called Introduction to Philosophy, C. W. Cannom, director of student personnel at Park College, demonstrated the usefulness of a personnel

philosophy of education. The broad goal of the course is "philosophizing on the part of each student, rather than the acquisition of philosophy for its own sake. While the course was once a survey in philosophy and later was built around the enduring problems in philosophy, it is now simply an opportunity for the student to think through his individual philosophy of life."¹

The first four class meetings were spent in organizing the program for the semester. First, a three-member committee was selected by the group to act as a steering committee in cooperation with the instructor. After committee and class discussions a number of tentative objectives for the course were evolved as follows:

- A. Through our experiences in this course, we should come to "take life more philosophically" in that we will have
 1. A clearer understanding of philosophy as the interpretation and reordering of life;
 2. The disposition to learn what we can from more and more of our experiences;
 3. The habit of looking beneath the surface things of life for whatever meaning they may have for us; and
 4. The tendency to try to see each part of our experience in its relation to everything else.
- B. We will try to develop this capacity to "take life more philosophically" through participation in some or all of the following experiences:
 1. The study of our language and thought habits as they function in everyday living;
 2. The acquisition of some sort of perspective through familiarity with the more enduring philosophies of life;
 3. The discussion of problems that are important to us, so as to develop the ability to think; and
 4. Further study, indicated by our developing interests, designed to increase our sensitivity to problematic aspects of our experience of which we may not now be aware.
- C. As a result of these experiences, we should
 1. Be more adept at interpreting and integrating new experiences as they come to us each day;
 2. Be better-rounded persons, in the sense that we respond appro-

¹See chap. II in *General Education in the Humanities*, by H. B. Dunkel, pp. 53-62. Cannom here describes in greater detail his use of the General Goals of Life Inventory in the philosophy classroom.

priately and consistently to the various experiences and opportunities we encounter;

3. Appreciate ourselves for our real worth as a result of a better understanding of ourselves and our universe; and
4. Show interest and initiative in working for a world in which others may do these things.

Second, to help each student evolve ways to reach these objectives, each member of the class listed, at the request of the steering committee, the suggestions he had for discussions in class, reading, and procedures that would be most helpful to him. On the basis of these suggestions, some twelve special interest groups were formed, with "some working on such orthodox areas as problems in thinking through one's philosophy of religion, and others concerned with such matters as how one should think about his future home and family."

Third, a short bibliography was organized "designed to relieve the student of any preconceived notions that he might have of the inherent difficulty and remoteness of interest of philosophy, and to show him how philosophy grows out of the business of living."²

Fourth, each student was asked to keep a log of his reading experiences, "to consist not only of résumés or digests but of efforts to relate what was read to his developing world view"—his reactions to what he read.

By the end of the fourth meeting, the group was ready to turn the class discussions over to panels, consisting of three or four students who had similar interests. Each panel was responsible for the class for one week. It would hold its own meetings and do its research outside of class time. In advance of its week to perform, the panel would present reading suggestions to the class and would make any other arrangements necessary to what it wanted to do the following week. The three meetings under the charge of a panel were roughly organized as follows: The first meeting, a round-table discussion, series of short talks, or other method of presentation was devoted to acquainting the class with the topic of that week, such as "What is a philosophy of life?" The second meeting might be devoted to general dis-

²The bibliography included James's *What Makes a Life Significant*, Plato's *Apology*, Thoreau's *Life without Principle*, and Otto's *Human Enterprise*.

cussion of questions and problems that the panel tried to bring to a sharp focus. The final meeting was usually reserved for the instructor to utilize as he saw fit.

The values to the individual student in this method of organizing the classwork were listed by the group as follows: (1) gives a student opportunity for "open season" on problems of particular interest to him; (2) enables a student to work closely with others of similar interests; (3) enables him to read along individual-interest lines; (4) gives the student the stimulating experience of assuming responsibility for one week for the welfare of the group; (5) enables student and faculty member to work informally and cooperatively.

The personnel of the panels was determined by the steering committee upon the basis of a check list of major interests indicated in the initial suggestions of the class. About 70 percent of the class of forty-one students were assigned to panels on their first-choice topics; 20 percent on their second-choice; and the remainder did "yeoman's service" on panels of their third-choice in order to distribute the class as equitably as possible among the various topics of major interest.

Three further devices were used to implement the objectives of the course. First, the students were asked to write out their philosophy of life before the course had got well under way. Second, each student "took" the Inventory of General Goals of Life.³

Third, and finally, about midway in the course, and as preparation for a final panel on "Development of a Philosophy," each student was asked to keep a "decisions notebook."⁴ This was to be a "log of daily decisions . . . kept over what was taken to be a representative period, some days a number of decisions being recorded, on other days perhaps only a few. In each case the issue at stake would be stated briefly, the decision indicated, and the reason or reasons why it was decided just that way described." For example, one student wrote:

³See Dunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-78, for a description of this inventory, and pp. 55-70, for illustrations of how the student's philosophy of life may be inferred from his inventory responses.

⁴Paul Weaver, professor of philosophy and religion, Stephens College, is to be credited with this idea.

6. Would I sell tickets at the show tonight, Bob wanted to know. Oh, dear!

Well, I didn't. I had to study sometime, and I was "way behind" as it was. Besides, I was tired, and that conservatory is so cold all the time I wouldn't even be comfortable. And every time I sell tickets I miss the first part of the picture, and I have to sit in the back of the conservatory and can't hear there.

35. Our teacher didn't show up in class today. Should I leave?

Everyone else did, as soon as the ten-minute period was passed. She probably wouldn't come anyway. I had heard someone talking about her going to K.C. She certainly wouldn't teach only *me*, if I did decide to stay. So I went home and slept and was late to . . . work.⁵

"This procedure was designed to get at the working philosophy of the student, since it is a notorious fact that the things that we think we live by are not always the functional ideals in our day-by-day living. These 'fork-in-the-road' situations, where choices have to be made, should reflect the pattern of values that is actually operative for the individual, so that an analysis of the reasons why things were decided a certain way would suggest [the student's] 'philosophy in shirtsleeves.' A comparison of this 'empirical' philosophy of life with the profile of life-goals derived from the inventory and the freely written statement as to what he thought he lived by proved interesting to everyone. . . ."⁶

Cannom found such values as these in his objectives and procedure:

1. Philosophy became real to students; it lost its remoteness and impracticality; a larger number of students came to think of philosophy in terms of problems and concerns that are real and important to them.

2. "A body of material that will provide almost without failure a talkable, workable medium for the development of critical skills is provided. . . . The philosophic spirit can be developed as successfully in a context of student problems and interests as it can be in terms of problems and interests that were ever so real to someone perhaps centuries ago but which may or may not be related to the concerns of the student just now."

3. "This seems like a good educational procedure . . . for we help students to study 'not philosophy, but philosophizing' about their

⁵ See Dunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59, for additional quotations from students' decision notebooks, together with their interpretations.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-58.

own concerns and difficulties. Their learning is thus real; philosophizing becomes important and not a remote classroom intellectual exercise."

4. This approach "more nearly symbolizes what philosophy means. Philosophy is not a special body of subject material (at least at the general education level), but rather a critical disposition toward life. Oftentimes the subject material, historical and contemporary, has great meaning and significance for the solution of problems today; occasionally it has little relation. . . . But to say that the traditional philosophers have much to offer is not equivalent to saying . . . that they are in any sense more important than what is taking place in the day-by-day experience of the student as he grapples with growth tasks that in the end must tell the whole story for him anyway."⁷

*EXAMPLE 2: A COMMUNICATIONS COURSE DESIGNED TO
TREAT STUDENTS INDIVIDUALLY**

For a number of years Muskingum College has had a course in orientation for freshmen. It began as a required course without credit, but later credit was offered for one hour each semester.

In conference with the instructors in speech and English composition it was discovered that much of the material covered in the orientation class was common to courses in speech and English. Students were writing and speaking about things which were interesting and closely related to their current experiences. The three departments saw better possibilities for meeting the needs of students by integrating the three courses.

After two years of study the departments decided to offer a course in communication. The course has been operating this year as a four-hour course with one hour required laboratory. Students receive four hours' credit each semester. Each teacher has the complete responsibility for one or more sections, and the staff meets twice a week to plan the work and to discuss methods of presentation. Students from each section have been invited frequently to participate in staff meetings.

One feature of the course in which we see almost limitless possibilities is the laboratories. Their purpose is to provide opportunities for students to get special help in very specific areas

⁷ Unpublished manuscript by C. W. Cannom, evaluating the course.

*Cora I. Orr, dean of women, cooperated in the development of the communications course here described and provided the following pages.

where need is felt. Such a large number of possibilities are offered that the students have several choices. Teachers make suggestions where they think students need special attention. There is no limit to the number of laboratories which students are permitted to take. A grade of satisfactory or unsatisfactory is reported at the end of each laboratory. No large assignments are given, but many specific suggestions are offered and some students voluntarily do as much or more work for "labs" as for classes.

The "labs" are all limited in enrollment in order to insure adequate time and set-up for individual treatment.

New laboratories are opened each week and some are discontinued. Depending upon the nature of the laboratory, some meet for three successive weeks; others meet only once.

An example of the way a laboratory may be planned is the procedure used in a laboratory entitled "Analysis of Personality Traits Which Contribute to Success after College." This laboratory meets three times. The first period is devoted to the analysis of a number of letters of inquiry and check lists sent from various prospective employers to the College Placement Service with requests for recommendations about students. At this first meeting students are invited to come to the Personnel Office to look over inventories, rating sheets, and other materials. At the second meeting students bring in self-analyses of (1) personality traits which they possess and which they consider to be assets and (2) personality traits which they possess and which they consider as liabilities. They bring suggestions for further developing the desirable ones and methods of eliminating the undesirable ones. Their suggestions are evaluated in class discussions. Particular emphasis is laid on getting down to specifics, recognizing the small things, and avoiding generalities. The principle of habit formation is reviewed and an assignment made to begin the formation of one good habit leading toward the developing of desirable traits.

At the third meeting, reports of progress are made for the assignments of the week with respect to the formation of a habit. Various types of check lists are presented. After this meeting, the laboratory is closed, and students are encouraged to follow

up by individual conferences and by reading for further help in the formation of another good habit.

Here are four other illustrations of specific laboratories:

The Use of Specific Details in a Communication involves discussion and explanation followed by practice by students in using this technique of effective communication. Each student's work is examined and discussed.

Correcting Too High Voice Pitch is open only to students who are in evident need of the examination and of treatment suggestions. Each student's optimum pitch is determined, and he is advised how to achieve it.

The Handling Stage Fright in Conversation laboratory specifically deals with suggestions for overcoming shyness, not with other phases of the problem of conversation.

The Speaking Too Fast laboratory seeks to determine the student's rate of speaking as it occurs in talks and oral reading, and to slow down those who talk too fast.

The following titles selected from the total of fifty-seven laboratories indicate the range of materials related to communication.

Job Finding

Do People Listen When You Read?

Magazine Reading for Content Material and for Pleasure

Party Problems

How to Build a Flexible, Usable College Schedule of Study

Is Your Pitch of Voice Too High?

Research Paper Form

What Can I Do about an Inferiority Complex?

How Can I Learn to Concentrate?

How to Take Notes on a Lecture (or any other oral source)

Selecting and Recalling Main Points

The Larger Life through Books

Analysis of Personality Traits Most Essential for Development in College

Study and Practice in Improving Conversation

Good Posture and Personality

Documentation

Taking Notes on a Written Source

Are You a Bromide? (avoiding hackneyed phrases)

Making it Interesting (how to make writing alive and vivid)

Purpose and Practice of Punctuation

The foregoing brief descriptions of classroom experiences imply certain principles of procedure, certain basic assumptions regarding human nature and how it may be influenced through the classroom, and certain additional practices. We shall confine our discussion to three major aspects of the teacher's job. These three aspects seem to be, from the experiences of the cooperating colleges, those which are most significant for our present discussion because (1) they are most frequently overlooked, (2) they are intrinsically most important, or (3) progress in understanding and/or applying them during the course of the Study has been most significant. These three areas involve attitudes toward (1) student-teacher relations, (2) the nature of learning, and (3) behavior as symptomatic of needs. With regard to each of these aspects of classroom procedure, what interests do teachers have? What beliefs? What attitudes? What information or knowledge? And, finally, what skills and practices.

Student-Teacher Relations

Teachers and students in a classroom are in (1) a social relation which (2) defines roles that (3) have educational implications. (4) The role of the teacher is particularly important to the kind of educational experience that students have; (5) the role of the student is particularly important to his growth as a person.

CONCEPTS

1. The relation of teacher and class is a social relation: There is interaction between persons. Teachers who accept this concept feel that although the emphasis upon intellectual activity prevails in the classroom, the social interaction between them as persons and the students as persons affects this intellectual activity. A teacher cannot step into a classroom, teach for a period, and leave again without affecting students by what he is as a person as well as by what he *does* or *says*. Such factors as appearance, voice, mannerisms, and other overt characteristics or differences in basic attitudes of individuals tend to draw them together or force them apart.

A concrete example of the social relation in the classroom is that of a white teacher of a Negro class. Inevitably the difference

in color—however it may be intellectually rationalized—will affect what the students think of the teacher, how readily they accept what he says, and conversely will influence the attitude of the teacher toward the class, the selection of his materials, and his motivations in teaching. Another example is the class taught by a young man not far removed in age or interests from those of the class. Inevitably the factors of age, similarity of interest, the teacher's desire to be different from (or the same as) the class will directly influence the learning situation. These are nonrational factors arising from the social interaction between the members of the class as *they are* and the teacher as *he is*.

2. The social relation of the classroom assigns roles: Teachers of the cooperating colleges are becoming increasingly sensitive to the way in which a class which meets for a quarter or a semester gradually structures itself. From a number of disparate individuals there emerges an organic group with leaders and followers, with those who are in positions of power and prestige and those who are hangers-on; some students become, in Moreno's phraseology, "stars of attraction" and some "stars of rejection."

Any teacher can readily supply a number of examples of roles determined by the structuring of the class. John, a brilliant student, could be depended upon to untangle the most difficult problems. George soon won for himself the role of arbiter in heated class discussions. Tom was the class wit. Mary who never said a word except in response to direct questions gradually was ignored by the group. Jane always had to have the last word and was "assigned" the rejected role of quibbler. There is the "teacher's pet," the "attention-getter," the "grind." Such roles in part grow out of the personal interaction of students within the class.

(It should be interpolated that although roles tend to be similar for a given individual from one social situation to another, they need not be so. The role of the brilliant student, for example, in a class of average ability may be quite different in a class where intellectual competition is keen. The poorly dressed student in a class of the campus élite may have a different role in a class of equal economic standing.)

3. Roles have educational significance: The social role is educationally significant because it is clothed with feeling. A person's

role in a group is an expression of what the group thinks of him. Since usually nothing strikes closer to our self-esteem than what others think of us, it is inevitable that a person have strong feelings about his social role. He feels satisfied or dissatisfied, encouraged or discouraged, hampered or facilitated, successful or inadequate.

Feelings have much to do with learning. Pleasant, positive feelings such as accompany satisfying roles tend to facilitate learning. Unpleasant feelings such as accompany unsatisfactory roles, if they are strong and persistent feelings, tend to block learning.

4. The teacher's role is critical in the educational experience of the student: By virtue of his position, the instructor has an arbitrarily "assigned" role at the outset. The interaction between him and the class over a period of time, however, may alter this role.

The process of identification may operate in the case of individual students who greatly admire the teacher. For them he is in the role of a hero. Because they are empathic with him, they tend to submerge their own personalities to his and to follow his leadership, his thinking, and to accept his facts without critical evaluation or question. This imitation tends to foster dependence on their part.

Again, the process of rejection may occur whereby the personality of the teacher is rejected by some students. Such hostility tends to prevent learning. A good example is that of a teacher of education. As head of the department he controlled the placement of seniors in teaching positions upon graduation. His courses were also required for all education students. Unfortunately, because of his own insecurity and need for affection, he deliberately and wantonly displayed this power. Many students resented such a display because of their own need for independence; moreover, they tended to transfer their hostility to the materials which he presented. They found his classes uninteresting and annoying. They "fought" him at every turn. When he made assignments, they seriously doubted their value, but felt compelled to do them. When he discussed a point in class, inevitably injecting his own personality into the discussion, they minimized the value of what he was saying because they could see no good come out of him. The strong emotional tones at-

tached to their reaction to the teacher as a person hindered their learning.

Ideally, the teacher wins the role of a leader. His initial prestige as teacher may give him nominal leadership, but the effective role of leader resulting from social interaction is earned and won. It cannot occur by chance. Through the process of establishing rapport with the group, of understanding and meeting the needs of individuals and of the group, the teacher as leader controls without dominating. He shares with students on an equal social basis in planning and executing policies and procedures in the classroom. Because he is personally secure, he does not need to dominate a situation in order to assert his own value. He recognizes the inviolability of the personalities of students and creates an atmosphere in the classroom which enables *each* student to be constructive and secure in his behavior.

5. The role of each student is important to his growth and development: As has been stated above, the student tends to value himself as others value him. When he is accepted as an important member of a group, his self-confidence increases, his feelings are pleasant, and his ability to learn is facilitated. On the contrary, when he is rejected by the group, he becomes defensive and perhaps recalcitrant.

An example of the latter case is Margaret, a student in a class in English who, though intellectually brilliant, possessed many personality peculiarities that alienated others. She was unkempt in her personal appearance; she tended to annoy others with an unpleasant voice. She was aggressive and bold. The class rejected her. They showed their rejection by refusing to recognize her in class discussions, by avoiding working with her and (somewhat surprisingly for a college class) by not sitting near her. Both physically and personally she was pushed out of the social bounds of the group. As is to be expected, she could not take this treatment supinely. At first she fought to get in the group but did so unskillfully; she only entrenched her isolated position. Then she began to fight openly; on any issue raised it was Margaret versus the majority of the class; but Margaret's witticisms met with a dead silence; Margaret's questions provoked no interest; Margaret's comments were ignored. Finally, unable to find an

acceptable role in the class, Margaret withdrew from the social interaction. In self-protection she feigned insouciance. She began to lose interest, to do a minimal amount of studying, and to rely upon her innate intelligence to "get her by." She did mediocre work when she could have been a brilliant student.

6. The teacher's behavior is a function of the interaction between his own needs and his environment: Increasingly the classroom teachers of the cooperating colleges are becoming aware of the importance of understanding their own behavior and how it affects students in the classroom. While theoretically it is probably not possible for any human being to be so objective about himself that he can fully understand his behavior at any moment, nevertheless, an appreciation of his goals, his attitudes, his beliefs, and the source of his satisfactions enables the teacher to be more objective about his teaching. We may illustrate with the cases of two teachers who differed greatly in energy output.

A teacher with high energy output habitually paced restlessly while lecturing; he fired questions rapidly and seemed impatient with deliberate or ignorant answers. He tended to eulogize students who, like himself, thought quickly and accurately and who also were keyed to a high pitch of energy output. He terrified students whose energy output was much less. Because they reacted more slowly, they often became bewildered and confused by his lightning speed. His bombardment of ideas, questions, and facts caused many to feel a dull resentment toward him as a person, a resentment which often they transferred in self-defense to the subject being studied. But for those who could react favorably to his nervous tension and exhilarating pace, the course was stimulating and exciting.

By contrast, a teacher with low energy output was a slow, deliberate thinker who always seemed to have all of the time in the world at his disposal. Habitually, he sat comfortably behind a desk during his lectures; his questions were quietly stated, and his patience in handling bungled replies was seemingly endless. The class moved leisurely, not to say lethargically. For tense, fearful students the teacher's calmness was soothing and comfortable, they gradually developed more stable, deliberate ways of thinking and acting. For students with a high energy output,

however, the teacher's behavior was irritating. They often found themselves anticipating him; they would sometimes "fill in the gaps" between his staid pace and their quick dashes with disturbing wisecracks to their neighbors.

If these teachers had been aware of the effect of their behavior on these students they could possibly have modified their behavior somewhat. For instance, the teacher with high energy output would have tried to calm down and to exercise more patience with deliberate or slow-thinking students. The teacher with low energy output could have consciously attempted to increase the tempo of his reactions. Sometimes these conditions are related to physiological conditions which may be modifiable by proper medication. A realization of what he is as a person, nevertheless, is a possible and attainable attitude in increasing the teacher's objectivity.

The teacher also becomes aware of the effect upon himself of the conditions under which he works. As Prescott has pointed out, teachers are often subject to working conditions which make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to maintain fully matured, emotionally secure personalities.⁹ A teacher may resent, for example, that he has no tenure and that he is economically insecure. He may be caught in a struggle for prestige and power and recognition which he cannot get in his college except by research or writing and these he may have no time for or particular interest in. Perhaps his relations with other instructors or with administrators produce tension and frustration. Salary inequalities may bother him. His behavior in the classroom inevitably reflects the accompanying tensions, fears, anxieties, and insecurities. Recognition, however, of the genesis of these feelings is one step toward preventing their having a nefarious effect upon classroom relations. Self-understanding is essential.

Quite apart from the effect of conditions such as these, the teacher may be poorly adjusted to other people. Like the education teacher cited above, a teacher may be in such need of psychological security that the inevitable power which his role as a teacher provides becomes a means for establishing security.

⁹D. A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (Washington, American Council on Education, 1938), pp. 253-75.

Because he (unconsciously) doubts his own value as a person, such a teacher cannot afford to be ignored, to allow students to disagree with him, to recognize that some students have greater intellectual capacity than he, to share with students in the work of planning the course, and in other ways to be a social equal. At all costs he must be the superior individual.

On the contrary, the teacher who has found a way of meeting his basic personality needs, who is in good health, has strong and satisfying affectional relations with family and friends, and has evolved a philosophy of living which is adequate and realistic, is able to accept himself as he is. He can be sufficiently objective to concentrate in his teaching upon the growth and development of students instead of upon developing prestige and security for himself. He is able to share with students as a social equal in the planning of the course. Because he accepts himself, he is able to be tolerant of others. If a girl like Margaret is in his class, he does not find it necessary for his own security to side with the class, but can accept Margaret as she is and help her to find herself.

In other words, the mental health of teachers as a factor to consider in the efficacy of teaching is becoming increasingly important. The working conditions which promote or impede the development of sound, mental health are being rigorously studied and the insight that individual teachers are getting into the dynamics of their own behavior is increasing their effectiveness as teachers.

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With concepts such as the foregoing in mind, the practices of teachers can be discussed briefly under two headings: the development of roles in the classroom situation which (1) *facilitate* and which (2) *hinder* growth and development.

To a certain extent the teacher may control the kinds of roles assigned to students by creating the conditions which provide *facilitating* roles for the greatest number of students. One such condition arises from the utilization of the first concept above, that is, that the classroom involves a social relation. Discussion groups enable students to find roles of value to them in the inter-

action of a small group. The opportunity to be active as chairman, secretary, research investigator, or whatnot for a small group gives a student a status that he values and that hence facilitates learning.

The simple technique of knowing students' names is exceedingly important. How many teachers have gone through countless graduate school or college classes as anonymous as a ship that passes in the night? Contrast our feelings about that kind of learning situation with that of a small seminar or even of the class of considerable size where we were recognized by name.

There is the practice of organizing a flexible course so that individuals may, by following their own interests, report on materials which only they have studied and in this way contribute to the total experience of the class.

The practice followed by Cannom in Example I¹⁰ of working with his student-selected committee to state objectives and the practice of securing student responsibility for several meetings of the class have alike the value of recognizing the worth of each student and the validity of a student's contributions as a person to the work of the class.

The practices which teachers in the Cooperative Study are trying to avoid are those which create roles that *hamper* a student's growth and development. They strive, for example, to prevent a timid, shy student from being consistently ignored by the group. They look upon the aggressive student who constantly demands attention, not as an annoyance—even though he is—but as one whose behavior manifests insecurity and whose need is for acceptance by the group. Teachers tend to avoid, if possible, continuous lecturing on the general education level, in part because it compels everyone to play an anonymous role. This anonymity itself may not be harmful to the individual's growth, but it fails to capitalize upon a potential, that is, the facilitation for learning which a satisfying social role brings with it.

Finally, as we shall discuss in more detail below, teachers are attempting to know their students as individuals as much as possible through a study of inventory and test data, autobiographical material, conferences, and in other ways.

¹⁰ See pp. 128-33.

The Nature of Learning

1. Learning is a change in goal-seeking behavior which (2) involves the whole student; the relation of learning to goals may be (3) extrinsic or intrinsic and (4) goals may be changed. Let us briefly examine these four concepts.

1. Learning is a change in goal-seeking behavior: The individual learns only when he must learn in order to achieve a goal. Goals may be seen as values—things wanted—or aversions—things to be avoided. Reduced to simplest terms, this definition of learning involves three aspects: (a) the drive toward the goal, (b) the obstruction—the thing to be learned which prevents reaching the goal, and (c) the goal. A boy desires very much to be an engineer. He wants to be an engineer for a number of reasons, such as the type of work, its status among occupations, the income and economic security. In order to achieve this goal, he must learn higher mathematics. This is the obstruction. He sees the relevance of this learning to his achievement of his goal. His learning is consequently facilitated. He has a strong drive and he sees a relationship between the learning and the goal.

Learning in order to avoid aversions may be the obverse of the above illustration. A boy does not want to lay bricks; he wants to be an engineer. So, in order to avoid laying bricks, he learns mathematics. Or, a boy wants to avoid the stigma attached to failing a course in chemistry; so he studies chemistry, not because he is interested in it, but because he wishes to avoid his aversion for failure.

2. The whole student learns: It seems very clear that intellectual processes such as memorizing, recalling, abstracting, and generalizing, are intimately related to and affected by other processes within the organism, such as feelings, emotions, and physiological processes. Motivation—the drive toward a goal—is rooted more in these nonrational factors. For this reason, the boy who studies mathematics is affected by his feelings, his health, his aptitudes, his interests, his beliefs.

One of the characteristics of learning is that the change in behavior involves the entire individual. People seek to attain their goals with their whole beings. Their attempts to get around obstacles and ob-

structions, material or otherwise, are the reactions of integrated, unitary organisms. The boy who is learning high school Latin because he must in order to get what he wants is acquiring not only the ability to repeat and possibly understand some declensions, but he is also developing attitudes toward declensions, toward the Latin language in general, toward his teacher, and toward the whole school situation. He is active intellectually, emotionally, and physically. Whatever his goals are, he is striving for them all over, and . . . he is going to attain his values by whatever behavior seems to him to be efficient all things considered. . . .

This fact that the entire organism reacts in a learning situation should not mislead the reader to conclude that there is no possibility of selecting learning experiences that are *relatively* more significant for intellectual, emotional, or physical development. The statement . . . that "the human organism is seen as profoundly unified" does not mean that under some circumstances that organism's behavior may not be primarily reflective and intellectual, under others primarily emotional, and still others primarily physical. It is one thing to assert that playing football has intellectual aspects and quite another to recognize that it places most emphasis upon large muscle activity. There are, after all, some school learning experiences that contribute more to intellectual than to physical growth. Some contribute more to emotional than intellectual development. The question is one of relative, not absolute, exclusiveness.¹¹

3. Motivation may be intrinsic or extrinsic: Motivation cannot be assumed; that is, because forty students are present at eight o'clock on Monday morning for a required course in English composition, it may not be assumed that they are necessarily motivated to learn in ways that the teacher may wish. Their goals and his idea of desirable goals may be considerably different. One student takes the course because without it he cannot qualify for football; another because he has a vague desire for "culture"; another because he wishes to be a writer; a fourth because his fraternity roommate recommended the teacher as a "good guy."

These varieties of motivation can be roughly classed as extrinsic or intrinsic. *Extrinsic* motivation occurs when the student learns because the college program is such that without learning he cannot achieve some of his goals. A good example is the stu-

¹¹ S. M. Corey, "For Vital Learning" in *General Education in the American High School* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1942), pp. 141-42.

dent in the eight o'clock class in English who actually learns to use good English because if he doesn't, he will fail and be ineligible for fraternity membership.

Motivation may be *intrinsic* when, as Corey says, "there is a sensible and reasonable relationship between school task and the student's own values and aversions."¹² A good example is the business administration student who learns accounting because he is convinced of the utility of this learning in his chosen vocation.

With this concept of motivation in mind, the teacher is alert to the need for (a) identifying the goals for which a student strives, (b) relating the material to be learned to these goals in such a way that the student sees "a sensible and reasonable relationship," or (c) changing the goal itself when necessary.

4. Goals may be changed: It should not be inferred from what has been said that the teacher's principal job is to make his course palatable to the whimsies and fancies of his students. This erroneous point of view toward learning ignores the fact that no learning occurs except in relation to goals, regardless of how good these goals may be; and that, in the second place, goals may be changed. The fact of the matter is, the need to change goals is an exceedingly important, fundamental job in teaching.

Goals generally derive from experience. The student's desire to be courteous or to be an excellent student are learned goals—he is not born with them. Except for goals with an obvious physiological basis, such as the desire for sleep, food, or activity, goals grow out of experience.

To change goals, therefore, the teacher must create conditions which produce goal-changing experiences. For example, if the goal of learning grammar is desirable for students, then conditions must be created which force students to learn grammar in order to attain their present goals. When a "reasonable and sensible relationship" exists between the learning tasks imposed by the teacher and the goals of the student, learning will occur with facility and, gradually, the value of grammar as a means to achieve desirable goals will be developed. Then adequate motivation to learn grammar is provided.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

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Developmental tasks mediate many of the goals that students have. As an illustration we may take the task of accomplishing emotional independence from immediate family relations as an intermediate step to the establishment of adult family relations. This task implies for students a number of values which they seek to achieve, such as ability to stand on their own feet, to accept and discharge responsibility, to make decisions for themselves, and to be recognized as adult persons whose opinions and judgments are worthy. Accordingly, in classroom procedures, teachers may recognize the existence of these values by helping students to work out their *own* philosophy of life without top-down compulsion (Example I).¹³ In Example II¹⁴ students select the particular laboratory experiences they want; in Example I, groups of two and three students are held responsible for one week's meetings of the class. In experiences such as these the values arising from the task of achieving emotional independence are being realized because learning results from intrinsic motivation.

There are a number of practical ways in which teachers identify the goals—the values and the aversions—of students. The inventories, of course, have been invaluable in this regard.

Such an instrument as the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations¹⁵ has relevance to the job of teaching since it may suggest the prevailing valuations of the group. For instance, in one class an instructor discovered from responses to this inventory that 80 percent of the students felt that they did not know their instructor at all well but that they would like to. He decided that since students so highly valued an acquaintance with the instructor, their learning would be affected by it. He arranged to hold regular office hours when students were invited, but not compelled, to come in and see him.

Another useful practice in identifying student values and aversions is the analysis of student personnel records. If it were possible, most teachers would like to know each of their students

¹³ See pp. 128-33.

¹⁴ See pp. 133-36.

¹⁵ See pp. 173-222 for a discussion of this inventory, which sheds light on the student's participation, interest, and problems in the area of his social relations.

individually. However, when teaching loads are heavy and classes are large, this is not often a practical possibility. But the impersonality of teaching may be minimized when as many students as possible are known to the teacher. This acquaintanceship may be enhanced by the information supplied in the personnel folder. The teacher finds out about a student's home background, his high school experiences, his entrance-test results, the comments about him by his high school and college teachers, correspondence with parents, health records, and other pertinent data. These data enable the teacher to understand better why a student behaves as he does.

Another useful technique in identifying student goals is the practice of asking students to write short autobiographies. These are often structured, that is, the teacher requests the students to state their own philosophies of life. One teacher asked students to make diaries over a period of time, in effect autobiographies of significant daily happenings. Other teachers have found that a record of experiences in courses similar to the present one is helpful in identifying what values and aversions students may have.

In addition to identifying student goals, teachers in the Co-operative Study have worked to refine their practice in relating learning to goals. This is an exceedingly difficult problem at times because of the fact that student goals nowhere approach the kind of goals which make the learning significant. For example, in the study of foreign languages, the values of understanding foreign people, of appreciating literature read in the original tongue, and similar values, are difficult to make real to students. On the other hand, in such courses as chemistry, mathematics, and physics where the vocational implications are very clear, the relation between the material to be learned and the student's own vocational goals is initially present and he needs little "teaching for relations."

A common practice has been that illustrated in Example I where students and teacher work out a clear-cut statement of the objectives of the course. This practice enables students to clarify their own goals so that the materials of the course will have relevance. As additional materials are learned, goals tend to change. Cannom

felt that by beginning with the students' recognition of their own philosophies of life he could, with less difficulty, stimulate them to read historical philosophy for answers to their questions. The assumption is that if he had begun by saying, "Historical philosophy has the answers to many of your questions. Let us now start with Plato and study the main philosophical concepts to the modern day," he would have ignored the interest of many students.

In ways such as these, teachers are able to effect changes in student behavior. The job is obviously much more difficult than the traditional practice of assuming the presence of values which justify the materials of a course. Teachers have found that they must discard a lot of their traditional practices. They can no longer take a body of material, organize it in ways which they see fit, and present it to the class without once raising the question of "Whom am I teaching?" or "Why are they interested or not interested in this material?" On the contrary, they consistently must "hit the students where they live."

That this can be done without, on the one hand, catering to students' whimsies or, on the other hand, avoiding the teaching of even traditional bodies of subject matter has been amply demonstrated in the quality of learning experiences that students have. On the general education level, students who speak as well inside the classroom as outside the classroom, who are interested in philosophy because it sheds light on their own problems, who discuss social and political problems dispassionately and with information, and who in other ways display keen, intellectual interest in the social problems of the day, are students whose learning has been vital. Their behavior has been changed; their goals have altered; their predispositions to study further are intensified.

Seeing Behavior as Symptomatic of Needs

Teachers see behavior from what might be called a stereoscopic point of view. This means that behavior is viewed with one eye, so to speak, as overt and, with the other, as the product of certain known feelings, drives, wants, needs. This stereoscopic point of view thus reveals behavior in its depth and refers all outward behavior to the inner states which cause it. Behavior is thus the

expression of inner states as they are conceptually understood by the observer. It helps in answering the questions "What lies behind this behavior? What does this behavior mean to this student? What is he in effect saying about himself by acting as he does?"

There are two principal concepts involved in the stereoscopic point of view. First, *the individual responds to any stimulus as a total being*. All that we have said about the unity of the organism is involved in this concept. A pain in the foot may make us cranky; the gastronomic pleasure of a good dinner tends to make us amenable; constant worry may produce ulcers. A person may twitch his eyes because he has dust in them or because he is tense; he may tap his fingers or twiddle with his pencil or swing a watch chain because he consciously wants to do something or because he is unconsciously expressing inner tensions. Moods relate to physiological conditions; physiological conditions depend in part upon our feelings and emotions; all things are tied together within the organism.

For this reason, behavior can be best understood when it may be viewed in a context of information and understanding about the total personality. Consequently, teachers are increasingly interested in all types of significant information about the student. The history teacher may justifiably be as vitally interested in the health of the student as the director of physical education. The music teacher may want to know, in an individual case, as much as does the student's counselor about a student's family relations. How an individual gets along with his roommate may be as important to understanding his behavior in the mathematics classroom as it is to the director of the residence hall in which he lives. Theoretically, everything that we could know about each student would, to one degree or another, have value to our understanding of him and would increase our effectiveness in teaching him.

A second and corollary concept involved in a stereoscopic view of behavior is that *intellectual activity is a function of the total organism*. There is no such thing as an intellect which operates as an entity. While it is true that certain processes are primarily intellectual, they are indubitably related to other processes within the organism. To speak of mind and body is purely a convenient

phraseology for purposes of discussion. They do not exist as separate entities. In fact, the mind is the body and the body is the mind. The intellect, therefore, should be seen as merely a function of certain physiological processes which are not as yet too clearly understood.

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Teachers of the Cooperative Study who have attempted to apply these concepts have first of all become much more sensitive to the causes of behavior¹⁹ in the classroom. By seeing behavior stereoscopically, they have found that the interaction within the classroom reveals the personality. For instance, a student comes to the teacher and says bluntly that he cannot do the work. From a stereoscopic point of view this student, in effect, may be saying a number of things, such as, "In the presence of my classmates, I feel stupid and intellectually outclassed. If I tell you about it, maybe you will help me in some way." Or, "I really think I could do this work very easily, but I want you to think that I am having a great deal of difficulty with it because if you will think this, I shall not have to work so hard." Or, "For some reason I haven't the nerve to speak up in class as much as I feel I should in order to do work which meets with your approval. If I speak to you about it, therefore, you may pay more attention to me."

Teachers who see behavior stereoscopically will look on such behavior much differently from those who take everything at its face value. They are able to concentrate upon the growth of the student. In such situations as those described above, they can explore various hypotheses in their conversations with the students and in their observation of them in the classroom, and proceed accordingly.

Teachers are also using a great deal more personnel information than in earlier years. There is a practical difficulty that at once must be recognized. The busy teacher with one hundred and fifty students in his classes cannot be expected to know each individual as intimately as if he had ten. Nevertheless, the information which he can get about students who, for one reason or another, draw

¹⁹ Behavior is used in a broad, general sense to include whatever the individual does, thinks, or feels.

his attention, is being utilized more specifically. There is the student who is at the top or bottom of the class on an intelligence test or who stands out because of his difference in attitude or feeling. There is the student with the obvious need for more security; the student who is bold; the shy, timid, withdrawn student. If he cannot attend to the individual characteristics of one hundred and fifty people, the teacher can attend, within the limit of his time and abilities, to the interests of some and, to that end, the kind of data that is on file in the personnel office or in the dean's office is increasingly valuable.

It may be appropriate, at this point, to emphasize the need for administrators so to organize the working conditions of teachers that they have more opportunity for using personnel information. In some colleges, personnel folders are still sacrosanct and unavailable to faculty members. In other colleges where they are available, the information is so diversified and undigested that a busy teacher despairs of getting the needed information when he wants it and in the form in which he can use it. Teaching schedules are so organized that individual conference periods are difficult if not impossible to work in. Administrative pressures to do things outside the requirements of good teaching, such as writing magazine articles, representing the college at public meetings, and working on committees, are sometimes so great that teachers are discouraged from making efforts to individualize their work. Finally, physical facilities are often not available for offices or conference rooms. Personnel records are in one building; a teacher has no place to call his own except the classroom during the class period; and since records cannot be allowed to float around the campus, there is no machinery for making the use of personnel data easy.

After this brief digression, we may consider a few more practices in keeping with seeing behavior as symptomatic of needs. One of these is the use of anecdotal records:¹⁷ in these, the teacher jots down his observations of behavior of a given student which seem to him significant in terms of criteria that he and other teachers have determined. Not only does the practice of writing

¹⁷ See J. L. Jarvie and Mark Ellington, *Handbook of the Anecdotal Behavior Journal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

such observations increase the sensitivity of the teacher to the symptomatic nature of behavior, but also the accumulation in the personnel folder of anecdotes about the same student from a number of sources is helpful in understanding the student.

For example, a history teacher wrote a brief notation to the effect that Juanita had not contributed to the class discussions voluntarily in six weeks although she seemed fairly well informed. He commented on her extreme reticence and diffidence. The music teacher said, "Today Juanita reported to the class on gypsy music and did an excellent job of explaining in an interesting way the origins of the folk music of this nomadic people. I was surprised at her volubility, poise, and willingness to lead the discussion which followed her presentation." Here was a new hypothesis to account for Juanita's failure to participate in class: she was indifferent. Following this hunch, the history teacher requested Juanita to prepare a special report on material he and she had discussed and which he felt interested her. Juanita seemed to feel challenged. She gave an excellent report and, furthermore, began to take a more lively part in the class thereafter. Apparently she previously had not been challenged by the course materials. Thus, the exchange of anecdotal records raised a new interpretation of Juanita's behavior.

Another practice which facilitates understanding of behavior in the classroom as it reflects the total personality of the student is the individual conference. More and more, teachers in the co-operating colleges feel that the individual conference period pays big dividends both in student motivation and in their own understanding of the individual student. They are consequently organizing their work in such a way as to relinquish some class time if necessary for individual conferences. Sometimes two good ends can be accomplished at the same time when small discussion groups, such as in Cannon's philosophy class, are responsible for the class meeting so that the instructor can be talking with other students during class time. Sometimes it is necessary to hold regular office hours in addition to the class meetings. This means extra work, of course, but to conscientious teachers, it is worth while.

Conclusion

The specific practices we have discussed in this chapter are representative of an increasing body of experience among teachers who take the assumptions of a personnel point of view seriously. The implications for a continuously improved classroom effectiveness of a recognition that teaching involves a social relation with students, that learning occurs best when goals are clearly recognized, and that behavior should be seen stereoscopically, are clear in the experience of the Study.

The Administration of Personnel Services

ADMINISTRATION as such is not a personnel service in itself, but only one of the means for making more effective the counseling program, the extra-class life, the classroom experience, and the specialized services.

In a sense every person on the campus—student, faculty member, and officer—performs administrative functions in personnel situations. Every member of the college community is likely to have some part in the three major administrative functions: making specific decisions, determining policies, and contributing to the development of the working philosophy of education which mediates decision- and policy-making. These functions may be illustrated by a student's participation in his committee's decision to stage an all-college party in orientation week for new students, by the faculty member's contribution to a discussion on policy regarding entrance requirements, by the participation of both students and faculty members in the development of the point of view that living arrangements are potentially educative and should be incorporated into the total program of the college. Persons performing such functions are truly administrators in the sense that their voices are heard in the councils which regulate and guide the activities of the college community.

Of course, in the practical operation of the college, a division of labor exists which allocates some administrative responsibilities to specific individuals, such as the registrar, the dean, and the division head; and some to specific committees, such as those on social affairs, curriculum development, and athletics. Such allocation of responsibility is dictated by the size of the institution, by the need for specialized training in performing many administrative functions (determining the battery of entrance tests, for

example), and by the practical exigencies of the situation which demand that unless particular jobs are assigned to specific persons, jobs do not get done well, if at all.

The Problem of Integration

The situation created by the division of labor also creates a problem in the administration of personnel services. As Ralph W. Ogan has pointed out,¹ administration is the use of power to control the behavior of people, individually or collectively, in order to secure integrated and harmonious action in the achievement of educational objectives. In a democratic society, we believe that the best basis for securing united action is through the uncoerced consensus of free men who allocate responsibility, who appoint administrators to carry out the policies of the group, and who, in short, retain in large measure the ultimate administrative control over themselves. Democratic administration, in other words, is the use of power to attain the common ends of the group when these ends are determined freely by the members of the group. In this sense, each member of the college community—faculty member and student—becomes an administrator to the extent that he participates in the allocation of the power which resides in his group.

The problem of administration arises when the delegation of authority is not genuinely a function of the group; or when the group is under an authority who has power received from another source, such as a board of trustees; or when the size of the institution is so great that those with assigned authority operate independently of one another and sometimes at cross-purposes; or when those who are assigned authority by the group gradually or suddenly sever their connection with the group and operate dogmatically and autonomously; or when, through political machinations between contending groups for the control of power in an institution, the struggle results in competition which centers the attention and energy of the group upon who has the power rather than upon the educational objectives which such power supposedly should serve.

Administration has come, in effect, to be identified, not with the use of power to attain ends desired by a group, but with

¹ Letter to author, September 8, 1947.

positions of authority, regardless of their relation to desired ends. For this reason administration is frequently thought of as "the administration." For this reason also, nonadministrators (in the traditional sense), such as teachers and students, tend, on many campuses, to lose their sense of responsibility for the administration of the total college program and to fight and resist the assertion of power on the part of officials assigned such responsibility. This situation in turn makes it necessary for well-meaning administrators to "win over" the support and cooperation of recalcitrant elements, expending countless man-hours in selling the group upon the idea that they as administrators are only the effectors of practices to achieve the purposes of the group. In addition, nonadministering persons take refuge frequently in the belief that administration is none of their business—a belief sometimes supported by administrators. Thus, there emerges a hiatus between administrators and nonadministrators that splits the energies of both groups and often debilitates the efficacy of their efforts to achieve common ends.

It is thus apparent that administration, when seen as the use of power to control the behavior of persons, individually and collectively, is primarily concerned with human relations. The emotions, feelings, and needs of men are central in effective administration, for precisely these attributes of persons as human beings are the determining factors in the efficiency of democratic administration. By contrast, fascist principles ignore the worth of the individual and utilize power to control behavior without recognizing how this use of power may affect the happiness of the persons being controlled.

The primary problem of administration, therefore, regardless of who is the administrator, involves the integration of human effort toward the achievement of common ends. The secondary problem involves the devices by which this desirable integration may be achieved. In this section we shall be concerned with the efforts of the cooperating colleges of the Study to achieve such integration.

DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNICATION

One of the common obstacles to harmonious and united action is difficulty in communication. Because so frequently administra-

tors and nonadministrators tend to work within different frames of reference, there is little communication possible between them. The administrator, carrying the responsibility invested in him by tradition to maintain an over-all point of view toward the progress of the college, sees things in a different perspective from that of the French language instructor, for example, who, again by tradition, is appointed to his sphere of activities and no others. The teacher of French cannot see the college from the broad vantage point of the administrator, while the latter has difficulty in understanding the perspective of the teacher regarding instructional materials, the job of teaching students as persons, and the apparent irrelevance of social regulations to educational goals. Such traditional preoccupations with their own spheres of activity develop disharmony, tension, and misunderstanding between administrators and nonadministrators. They cannot share experiences because they have few experiences in common. They cannot communicate their beliefs, ideas, and purposes because each operates from a different vantage point.

Another factor affecting communication is that the various specialized fields of knowledge utilize esoteric vocabularies. The social scientist speaks of a frame of reference and social status and role and is perhaps misunderstood by the humanist to whom the concepts are meaningless when couched in these terms. The prevalence of departmental barriers erects hurdles to communication which are hard to get over. The background of knowledge, the interests, the professional outlook of persons from science, the humanities, and student personnel work, for example, may be so dissimilar that in discussing common problems, such as how changes may be effected in student behavior, the objectives of education, or the methods of meeting the personal-social needs of students, there is no genuine meeting of minds.

Difficulties in communication arise because of conflicting interests. Persons who are insecure find it difficult to be tolerant and to change their minds, to grow, to develop newer concepts. They seemingly erect protective barriers which serve to make their minds impermeable. Their understanding of others, if it occurs, is confined to intellectual understanding and does not include the emotional assent which must come if free men are to work harmoniously together. Consequently, when two or more such persons

get together on a committee, for example, to make policies to govern social life on the campus, each is likely to assert his own plans and to be emotionally incapable of attacking the common problem with mutual trust and faith in cooperative procedures.

To attack such difficulties in communication, the cooperating colleges have used a number of techniques. The persistence of some administrators in using committee meetings to discuss common problems at length in a mood of complete trust in each member has borne rich fruit in increased communication and common action. Many administrators have consistently refused to use the "majority rule" procedure, but have waited until, through continued discussion and exploration of a problem, a consensus has been reached. In one college, all faculty decisions are based upon consensus; no votes are ever taken. This policy forces decisions to wait for more effective communication among members of the group; it expresses the fundamental faith of the members of the group in each other; it provides each person with an equal opportunity to contribute to the formulation of group opinion.

Many of the colleges have also used various kinds of bulletins and memoranda to increase the common store of knowledge among advisers, to increase the understandings of human behavior, and to facilitate the machinery of the organization. At some colleges, a monthly or biweekly bulletin of twelve to twenty pages includes results of group tests, reviews of publications relating to personnel work, reports of various subcommittees, and the results of studies undertaken by individuals or groups.

Most of the colleges have relied heavily upon increasing the acquaintance of faculty members with each other. Administrators spend long hours talking informally and freely with individuals, sharing experiences and points of view, and developing, in the course of such discussion, a genuine friendship which is based upon mutual trust and faith in the democratic principle that the combined thinking of many people is likely to be better thinking.

NONRATIONAL FACTORS

When developing a program of united action in which several persons participate it must be recognized that there are non-rational factors which motivate behavior. The drives of people for

status among their colleagues, for example, color their behavior in group situations. When status or position in the group is granted only on the basis of certain symbols, such as wealth, outstanding achievement in research, social position, or length of service in the institution, it is inevitable that united action will be difficult, if not impossible, to get. On the other hand, when each member of the group is accepted as a worthy member, regardless of his prestige, wealth, experience, or other symbol of status, then it is possible to secure united action in terms of educational goals. Each member can speak more directly to the question, "What can we do to improve educational practice on this campus?" without having to think also in terms of how he may gain or lose status by his proposal or the group's decision.

A case in point is a registrar who had identified with his job. For many years he had been solely responsible for keeping the records of the college. The college had relied upon him solely to effect whatever changes in the form of the records were needed to meet the changing demands. As registrar he had status among his colleagues, not because of the educational ends that his records served, but because of his acceptance of the responsibility for them. As participation in self-study programs began to highlight the need for changes in the kinds of records kept on students, the registrar began more and more to offer resistance. He resented as an infringement upon his prerogatives the suggestion of the personnel council that records should be disseminated among counselors for their use. And when they proposed that the system of record-keeping be subordinated to the total personnel program, he resigned, sure in his own mind that he had no further usefulness.

On the other hand, if through the years the registrar had been made to feel that he as a person was important to the educational program of the college, that his records were not as important as the purposes which they served, then he would have had status on a sound basis. He would not have felt compelled to protect the sanctity of his records, for they would not have been the symbols of his own worth as a person.

Basic Principles of Integration

Although the effective administration of personnel services is certainly not a matter reducible to a few rules of thumb, it may be helpful in systematizing the experiences of the Study to discuss briefly the two basic principles which, taken together, have been instrumental in conceptualizing our thinking and activity. These two principles are involved in many of the practices already discussed.

I: EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION SATISFIES THE NEEDS OF PERSONS

It is clear that administration basically is a matter of human relations in which one person controls the behavior of another person. The chairman of a committee is empowered by his committee or by others to voice the decisions which affect not only the committee members themselves, but other persons as well. The teacher selects the content materials for his course and thus controls the behavior of his students. The counselor suggests that a student go to the health clinic. The dean puts a student on probation. In every case, the decisions, policies, points of view, or plans promulgated by one person or group affect the behavior of others.

To the extent that administrative efforts are successful, the decisions are accepted, the policies are followed, the point of view is adopted, and the plan is followed. This does not mean that those controlled by the administrative decisions are necessarily supine, indifferent, or rebellious. They may be in complete accord with the administrative decision or policy. The point is well taken that the most effective administration is precisely that which secures affirmative, not submissive, support. This is precisely the emphasis in democratic use of power to reach common goals. And to find this level of accord and harmonious action among individuals, the needs of all persons—administrators and those under control of authority—must be satisfied.

We have elsewhere specified the meaning of basic personality needs, but it may be useful to summarize briefly here.² Each

² See particularly chaps. ix and x.

individual is driven in his behavior to seek satisfactions to basic needs which have their origin in physiological processes, psychosomatic processes, and social conditions. The needs for food, water, activity, and rest are primarily physiological. The needs for being valued by others, for feeling like others, and for affectional relations are social in their context. Finally, each person is driven to make some sense out of the scheme of things and of his place in it—the need for a philosophy of life which gives him a sense of his own value and maintains his self-respect.

When needs are frustrated, the individual makes strong, even violent efforts, to satisfy them. If he does not feel that he "belongs" to or is valued by a group, he makes strenuous efforts to win them or defiantly rejects them. In this light, for example, attention-getting behavior of insecure persons becomes clear. When his needs are satisfied, the person is happy, creative, and capable of expending his energy constructively.

INDIVIDUAL RELATIONS

The cooperating colleges have consistently tried to improve the quality of counseling by various methods, among them the in-service training of faculty counselors. One interesting technique which illustrates the principle of recognizing needs in face-to-face relations between an administrator (for example, the dean or director of personnel) and other personnel is the case-conference technique described by Dean Cora I. Orr of Muskingum College.⁸

Since all counselors are also classroom teachers, they are interested in getting better acquainted with students in their classes as well as with their counselees. The case-conference plan involves a series of weekly or biweekly interviews of about an hour between the counselor and the director with a secretary present to take notes of significant information exchanged during the interview.

The procedure is roughly as follows: the counselor suggests the names of students in whom she is especially interested for one reason or another. The director and counselor discuss the available material in the student's personnel folder which includes test profiles, anecdotes, correspondence with parents, admission

⁸ The description of this method is taken from materials supplied by Miss Orr.

data, health reports, and academic record. Sometimes several students are discussed; sometimes, one. They may be counselees of the teacher or students in her classes. The information, ideas, and plans brought out by the interview are typed up for later use by both director and teacher and, in the case of the teacher's anecdotal material about students in her classes, for reference use in the personnel folders of these students.

The values of the case-conference plan are numerous. First, the counselor comes with questions about the student to be discussed. Such questions inevitably suggest the counselor's understanding and insight; they guide the director in her own comments, in her selection of personnel material for explanation and elaboration, and in her suggestions of experiences (reading, attending discussion groups, graduate school classes, etc.) which the counselor might find helpful. The case conference may be an excellent learning situation.

Second, the counselor's peculiar pattern of abilities and interests with respect to her counseling duties becomes better known both to the director and to herself. A basis is laid in mutual self-respect for united action. Third, the practice of an administrator in conferring repeatedly and at length with faculty members pays big dividends in humanized relations. The director becomes known as a person; so does the teacher. Mutual interests, sympathies, and purposes bind them together. Teamwork is more likely to eventuate.

Fourth, the quality of the counseling program improves through this mutual exchange of insight and information about a student, for the personal security of the counselor will likely reflect itself in stable attitudes, in a feeling of being a valued person doing valued work, and in a willingness to admit mistakes, to recognize limitations, and to seek new learning experiences. These values accrue from the administrator's recognition of the fundamental principle that the basic needs of the counselor must be satisfied.

GROUP RELATIONS

The needs of the individual must be satisfied in group relations as well. One administrative method which meets teachers' social needs is group deliberation in which, through free and candid

discussion, decisions are reached and plans are evolved by the method of securing the uncoerced judgment of free men. In faculty meetings, committee discussions, informal sessions of two or three interested faculty members, *when certain conditions are met*, group deliberation results in such desirable outcomes as a clarification of aims, the evaluation of plans and procedures consistent with the resources of the group to achieve these aims, the genuine evaluation of present programs, and the recognition of new difficulties.

However, certain conditions governing group deliberation must be created before deliberation of this sort or desirable outcomes occur. One condition for group deliberation is an unrestricted opportunity to participate in group activity. We have pointed out how the individual needs to be valued by a group. He must have unrestricted opportunity to win such valuation by a group. Administrative practices may limit such opportunities in a number of ways. For example, administrative power may be only theoretically vested in the group. President X one day submitted a proposal to the faculty that intercollegiate athletics be abandoned by the college. After explaining the proposal and requesting faculty discussion, he concluded by citing all of his reasons for approving the change. His proposal was met by a long, uncomfortable silence. Faculty members felt that opposition to the proposal might be taken spitefully by the president. They knew he was not disinterested about it nor willing to abide by a group decision. They recalled no previous faculty discussions which raised the question of intercollegiate athletics. As a result, after one or two inquiries and a brief discussion, the faculty acquiesced to administrative power and adopted the proposal. But they felt resentful at not having had the opportunity of airing the problem freely; they realized too that group deliberation was an impossibility with the president because of his own insecurity, his inability to grant power of policy formation to the group, and his lack of experience and skill in democratic procedures.

Opportunity for unrestricted participation may be limited by cliquishness and favoritism. Some administrators, interested primarily in action and very little in how the mandate for action is secured, persistently rely on the judgments of a chosen few in

determining policies and procedures. For these few, the participation in the planning and execution of policies meets social needs; but not for the majority. The latter inevitably must feel as though they're "on the outside, looking in." When policies affecting the welfare of the whole group are determined by the inner circle, the majority are resentful, immobilized, and fearful. The potential resources of their thinking have been neglected and their antagonism has been earned.

On the other hand, securing unrestricted participation in group deliberation does not occur by chance or by an administrator's fiat. In a sense, a group of faculty members deliberating freely about a policy or plan expresses in its operation a number of factors which makes the group activity possible. For one thing, participants in such a group may feel the camaraderie which expresses a sense of belonging, the security that grows out of being accepted by colleagues and superior officers as persons of integrity and worth. Such a feeling results from the many hours spent with others in the uncoerced discussion of beliefs, purposes, and values. A common effort in group participation is the outcome of a community of feeling.

Another factor is the working conditions of the college. The deliberations of the group are meaningful because the results of group thinking will be used. The group is not rubber-stamping decisions already made by administrators. Each member has sufficient personal security in the college situation that he *can* deliberate freely. He need fear no reprisal nor unexpected display of administrative authority nor the unwillingness or inability of campus leaders to recognize his worth as a human being. He knows that he can speak his mind freely and honestly. Under such an aegis, group deliberation is more likely to lead to common agreement and united action.

II: EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZES THAT ORGANIZATION FOLLOWS FUNCTION

Intellectually it is easy to accept this principle because it expresses the obvious fact that organization is a means to an end. It is the machinery constructed to help the college achieve its educational objectives. Actually, however, experience shows that

organization frequently becomes sanctified and inflexible. What worked once to meet the need for which an organization was created is thought to have eternal value even when objectives have changed.

In the development of an effective organization for personnel work, there are at least five interrelated factors or steps to bear in mind. These factors, although here discussed more or less as discrete units in a logically ordered process, are, of course, occurring repeatedly and concurrently.

First, if organization arises out of functions, it is clear that the functions which organization must serve should first of all be clearly stated and well understood. An illustration of a violation of this principle is the introduction of counseling programs in colleges where faculty members and administrators are not clear as to what counseling is supposed to do. In one such college where a personnel director was employed to develop a counseling program, some faculty members considered counseling a sort of glorified wet-nursing process; others, particularly the registrar, were delighted at the assistance which advisers would provide at registration time; still others thought that the objective of counseling was to solve students' problems. Under such auspices any organizational plan involving the appointment of counselors, the assignment of counselees, the development of records, and the accumulation of personnel data, would simply lead to the multiplication of ignorance and misunderstanding.

On the contrary, this personnel director spent his entire first year on the campus in talking long hours with individuals and interested groups about what the counseling program ought to do. He faced frankly with advisers the facts, for example, that counseling may be used as a way of minimizing the registrar's work and that all faculty members could not be therapists. He and the advisers clarified in this process of group deliberation what, in short, the objectives of counseling ought to be.

The second step in the development of a personnel organization involves the appraisal of personnel and material resources to meet objectives. Having decided what counseling ought to do, next questions are: who can do it; where can counseling take place;

must special offices be provided; what kinds of records are needed; must additional secretarial help be employed? Experience has shown that when objectives are clear and accepted by the faculty, the resources to meet them can usually be commanded.

A third step is the development of an effective personnel organization itself. When colleges know what they want to do and what resources they have for doing it, the ways of structuring, of planning, of organizing, or of allocating responsibilities in order that they may achieve their objectives, are relatively simple.

A fourth step is the constant evaluation of the personnel organization. In pursuing this step, the college raises such questions as the following: Are our objectives the same or have they changed since the present organization was developed? Are we utilizing our personnel and material resources adequately and appropriately? Is the organization accomplishing what it is supposed to accomplish? This fourth step reiterates again and again the necessity of seeing organization in its proper perspective as a means to an end.

A fifth and final step involves replanning on the basis of evaluation. This step emphasizes the question, "Evaluation for what purpose?" New programs are outlined on the basis of inadequacies identified in present programs; faith in some present practices is confirmed.

THE CENTRAL TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

What then are the prevailing types of organization of personnel work among the cooperating colleges? Although we have consistently maintained in the Study that colleges are autonomous, so that diverse patterns of organization are expected, there is a strong tendency toward a basic pattern because of the common agreement with the principles of administration discussed above. The common pattern may be called the central type of organization where the ideas, assumptions, beliefs, and facts involved in a personnel philosophy of education are at the core of the total educational program. The personnel services are participated in by all faculty members and students. The personnel point of view is central to the philosophy of education which the college holds;

even when specific activities are delegated justifiably to specialists or semiprofessional personnel workers, the objectives of all efforts are identical with the objectives of the institution as a whole.

The experience of the Study shows that the tendency toward centrality is strong in the organization of personnel services. Every attempt is being made to synthesize and coordinate the program into a unified effort to attain educational ends. The physics instructors, for example, and the director of residence halls are beginning to talk the same language. The objectives of the teacher of English and of the college physician are having their common elements identified. The specialist in testing and the newest counselor on the faculty are finding common purposes in their work with students. In general, the point of view of the cooperating colleges is that only through a central type of organization can the objectives of general education be effectively achieved.

One plan for securing an integration of effort through organization is the use of a personnel council such as McCully instituted at the University of Denver. There, the council consists of the following members:

Director of admissions⁴
Field representative
Registrar
Dean of men
Dean of women
Director of testing services
College physician
Graduate manager
Director of part-time employment
Several representatives from faculty adviser group
Chancellor of the university, *ex officio*
Dean of engineering, *ex officio*
Dean of arts and sciences, *ex officio*
Personnel officer, *chairman*

The work of this council is suggested by McCully as follows:

Through regular, well-planned meetings, the work of each agency could be defined and clarified in relationship to that of every other agency. Effective attention could be given, for example, to the pressing need for some form of centralized student records through which an

⁴The titles given here are, of course, peculiar to the University of Denver.

exchange of information about students could take place, and to which faculty advisers and personnel workers could refer for a comprehensive folder of all available recorded information for any given student. On this council, faculty advisers should be represented so that regular sharing of experience and exchange of points of view could take place between faculty advisers and administrative personnel workers. A body of this sort should be in a strategic position to point out possible gaps or weak points which exist in the total program, and to investigate and make recommendations for improvement. A personnel council of this kind should probably be given advisory rather than administrative powers in the establishment of policies, but it should be one important function of this body to recommend for administrative action revisions and improvements in policy having to do with the personnel program.⁵

The type of administrative organization illustrated by the Denver personnel council is sound because it provides a channel of communication between various personnel agencies, it provides a medium for reaching common agreement and united action, and, finally, it represents all aspects of the personnel program except the role of students. In some of the cooperating colleges, where a similar advisory, policy-forming body exists, students are also included as members.

In smaller institutions having no specialized services, a personnel committee consisting of interested faculty members and students accomplishes the same functions. The membership of the committee generally consists of advisers, appropriate administrators (for example, the dean of students, the registrar) and representative students (from the "Y" organizations, the student council).

An interesting technique for securing coordination through the personnel of the committee is used at Macalester College. There, the advisory council, consisting of six members, sponsored a series of subcommittees on postwar projects. There were subcommittees on (a) buildings, grounds, and finance; (b) objectives, curriculums, requirements for graduation; (c) admissions, guidance, and achievement facilities; (d) work-study plan; (e) adult education and community service; and (g) the five-year plan. Each committee was made up of a coordinator who was also a member of

⁵C. Harold McCully, fellowship report to the University of Denver.

the advisory council, a chairman, and four to eight other faculty members. Through the personnel of the committees and through being represented on each subcommittee by one of its own members, the advisory council was able to integrate the total faculty program for a postwar world in terms of personnel principles.

Part II

**FACILITATING THE PERSONNEL
SERVICES**

Appraising the Personal-Social Needs of Students

First Project: The Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations

Written in collaboration with
John L. Bergstresser¹

THE INVENTORY used in studying the personal-social needs of students may be defined as a systematic method of getting students to describe themselves with reference to a number of factors affecting their personal-social adjustments in college. Recognizing that no one factor could by itself account for the individual's behavior, the Study emphasized the relations among many factors by the use of inventories. Thus, the student in his personal-social adjustments may be affected by the adequacy of his social experience, his social skills, his ability to get along with the opposite sex, and his relations with parents and with faculty. The student indicates his reactions to many such interrelated factors by replying on the inventory in terms of his interests, indifferences, difficulties, feelings of participation, desires, and frustrations.

The Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations may be thought of as a self-portrait. The inventory is not a test to measure the student's level of skill, information, or ability; it is a description of the student, made by himself, with reference to his feelings, activities, and problems. The inventory helps to answer the important questions: In what light does the student see himself? What are his interests and concerns in personal-social relations? What kind of person does he conceive himself to be?

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Genesis of the Inventory

As an illustration of how a group of colleges of several types may band together to study common problems, a description of the process followed in the development of the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations² (the P-S1) may be helpful. At the outset of the Study the colleges indicated interest in a wide variety of matters relating to personnel work. As representatives from these colleges worked together in intercollege committee meetings, at workshops, and during regional conferences; as they corresponded, studied circulated materials, and read some of the bibliographical references distributed by the Study; and, finally, as they explored more fully the meaning and implications of problems specific to their own campuses, there gradually emerged out of the initial hodge-podge of apparent dissimilarity of interests strong threads of similarity. Common denominators of interest became focal points for major projects which avoided "fluttering in all directions and flying in none" and also economized on time and effort by division of labor.

In this gradual process of identifying common denominators of interest, two related questions recurred with respect to student personnel work. (1) What are the specific problems that confront students for which the college should attempt to provide effective counseling assistance? (2) How adequately is the present personnel program and especially the individual counseling service providing assistance to students in the solution of these problems?

In the spring of 1941 representatives from half of the colleges in the Study met in Chicago for five days to study ways and means of securing evidence on the above problems. The group was heterogeneous in background: a director of personnel for women, a dean of women, an assistant dean of students, a registrar, a professor of philosophy and Christian ethics, a dean of administration, two directors of student personnel services. The colleges represented different types of institutions: a teachers college, five church-related colleges, a private junior college for women, and a large city university.

²The inventory has been designated P-S1 for convenience in writing and speaking and will be so referred to hereafter in this report. All inventories developed by the Cooperative Study in General Education may be obtained from the Educational Testing Service, 15 Amsterdam Ave., New York 23, N.Y.

The initial step in formulating the project involved a decision regarding the frame of reference which was to be used as a basis for "reasoning together." The staff had prepared several brief outlines of ways of looking at human behavior. These represented different systems of concepts. After considerable discussion one of the several systems or ways of classifying human experiences was accepted as a starting point for the thinking of the group. This frame of reference may be presented as follows:

- A. The areas of human experience, behavior, growth and development, involve needs for
 1. Physical well-being
 2. Mental well-being
 3. Intellectual development
 4. A philosophy of life and religion
 5. Aesthetic experience
 6. Vocational orientation
 7. Effective citizenship
 8. Recreational resources
9. Satisfying relations to others, involving (a) personal-social relations—getting along with people in the immediate environment; (b) all other human relations, including those with communities and cultures remote from the immediate environment
- B. The kinds of data to be obtained in these areas in order (a) to make judgments about the needs of students, or (b) to evaluate the development and progress of students with respect to their needs, may be found in students'
 1. Activities
 2. Purposes
 3. Problems or difficulties they face in achieving their purposes
 4. Abilities and skills
 5. Information
 6. Interests
 7. Attitudes and beliefs

With this scheme before them, the members of the intercollege committee selected the area of personal-social relations (9a in the above outline) for systematic study. Their reasons for this selection were several: this area was intrinsically important to the student's attainment of maturity; it was of general interest to the colleges; our present data on students with respect to this area were especially inadequate; study in this area would not duplicate nor too largely overlap the areas on which intercollege com-

mittees in science, social science, and humanities were working; and recent studies by Prescott, Davis, Warner, Gardner, and others had indicated the tremendous importance to good adjustment of the individual's intimate, personal relations with others.

What kinds of data should be obtained? All seven kinds could hardly be included within the scope of one inventory. By the process of elimination or delimitation, the activities, concerns, and interests of students were selected (1, 3, and 6 of the outline above). This proved to be a judicious decision, because purposes, abilities, information, and attitudes may often be inferred from activities, interests, and concerns. Furthermore, items sampling interests and activities of a personal-social sort are easily stated and readily understood. Also, students usually feel free to respond to such items. If they do not participate in the activity listed, they would probably not hesitate to indicate an interest in it or an indifference toward it. In other words, the committee felt that a check list of activities would not make students feel that their "private world was being intruded upon." Finally, since activities must be related to goals, purposes, and values, a sensitive faculty member should often be able to relate this student's pattern of activity and interests to basic psychological motivations, drives, and conflicts.

With these decisions made, the staff prepared two preliminary inventories, designated "Inventory A, Concerns and Difficulties" and "Inventory B, Activities and Interests." The selection of items was based upon the work of people from several colleges. These trial inventories were administered to a group of students in one college. The results were exhaustively studied by an intercollege committee whose members went through the inventories item by item, eliminating some, adding others, revising many. Categories or groupings of items were suggested so that sub-scores consisting of responses to related activities, interests, and concerns could be secured. The basic assumptions regarding human behavior that were implicit in the selection of items were questioned, analyzed, clarified. As a result, a revision of the inventories A and B, administered to several hundred students in many colleges, provided a cooperative project from which emerged,

after condensation and further revision, the present Self-InVENTORY of Personal-Social Relations.

General Organization of P-S1

PART I: ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS

In Part I, 100 items such as the following constitute a sampling of the many personal-social activities in college:

3. Playing on an organized athletic team (intercollege or intra-mural).
5. Going to dances.
12. Serving as a leader in a campus religious organization—officer, committee chairman, etc.

To the left of each item are printed on the inventory blank the letters A, U, and D to correspond with the letters used on standard answer sheets for machine-scoring. In filling out the P-S1, the student circles the appropriate letter according to the following system:

A U D —he participates in the activity, either occasionally or frequently.

A D —he does not participate in the activity, BUT would like to; that is, the activity represents an "unfulfilled interest."

A U D —he does not participate in the activity AND is more or less indifferent toward it.

Thus the total score for Part I indicates the number of personal-social activities in which the student participates (the "A" response), the number in which he is interested but does not participate (the "U" response), and the number of activities toward which he is indifferent (the "D" response).

PART II: CONCERNs AND DIFFICULTIES

In Part II, 100 items such as the following indicate concerns and difficulties related to personal-social relations:

101. Being in too few student activities.
108. Family over-influencing my academic or vocational choices.
132. Feeling that I do not know my instructors at all well.

To each statement, the student again responds in one of three ways, circling the A, U, or D, as follows:

(A) U D —an *important* concern or difficulty to him.
 A (U) D —a *mild* concern or difficulty to him.
 A U (D) —no concern or difficulty to him.

The total score for Part II thus indicates the number of concerns which are important to the student (the "A" response), the number which are mild (the "U" response), and the number which are of no concern to him (the "D" response).

Types of Scores

CATEGORY SCORES

In addition to total scores, subscores or category scores may be derived. The 100 items in each part of the inventory are divided equally among eight categories or groups of related items. Each category contains sixteen items.³

In Part I (Activities and Interests), the following categories, each illustrated below with a sample item, are used. Before each appears the category symbol which is given on the inventory itself, making it a simple matter for the interpreter to note the specific items which make up the category score. All of the category titles could be preceded by the phrase "social activities involving" . . . opposite sex, family, faculty, and so on.

(o) *Opposite Sex*

93. Having good times on dates or with mixed groups in ways that are inexpensive.

(h) *Family*

7. Discussing my college experiences in detail with my parents.

(f) *Faculty*

40. Going to the home of a faculty member for an informal social affair.

(s) *Belonging* (being part of the "gang" or in-group or intimate social circle of friends, usually made of those about the same age).

1. Going to a campus "hangout" with other students for a coke, a snack, etc.

³ The apparent inconsistency between 100 items and eight categories of 16 items each is accounted for by the 28 "cross-classified" items. These are items that occur in more than one category and hence are counted twice in the subscores. They are counted only once in the total score. An example of a cross-classified item is "2. Singing in a glee club, chorus, quartette, or similar musical group." This activity involves two categories, Social Skills and Aesthetic Activities, and hence is assigned to both.

- (k) *Social Skills*
 - 5. Going to dances.
- (l) *Intellectual and Aesthetic*
 - 11. Participating in debating or literary (poetry, book review, reading, etc.) club.
- (r) *Social Service* (activities involving service to others or to the whole community).
 - 8. Serving on the student council or on a committee appointed by it.
- (l) *Leadership and Initiative*
 - 62. Being captain of an athletic team (either intramural or inter-collegiate).

Part II (Concerns and Difficulties) also divides the 100 items into eight categories as follows:⁴

- (o) *Opposite Sex**
 - 148. Being ill at ease, in casual, friendly contacts with the opposite sex.
- (h) *Family (Home)**
 - 141. Being treated like a child by my parents.
- (f) *Faculty**
 - 132. Feeling that I do not know my instructors at all well.
- (s) *Belonging**
 - 101. Being in too few student activities.
- (k) *Social Skills**
 - 152. Not having the skills I need to enjoy such group social activities as singing, card playing, informal sports, parlor games, and so on.
- (p) *Physical Well-being* (as related to social functions)
 - 114. Lack of sleep spoiling my enjoyment of social activities.
- (n) *Likeness-to-Others* (i.e., the desire to be like others in essential and desirable ways).
 - 156. Feeling that I am too fat or too thin.
- (e) *Social Experience*
 - 145. Lack of previous experience making it difficult to get into student activities.

ITEM-RESPONSES

The item-response (the response to one item) is recorded by the student on the inventory itself.⁵ The individual's responses thus

⁴ Some categories in both parts are titled the same because the items relate to a similar aspect of personal-social relations. These are starred in this list.

⁵ When the inventories are to be machine-scored, these responses may be transferred to the standardized A-U-D answer sheets.

occur on three levels of specificity: the total scores, the category scores, and the item-response. The first two types may be numerically or graphically recorded, as illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 (see pages 194 and 196).

A Basis for Interpretation

Whoever attempts to understand the behavior of others (or himself) must inevitably proceed on the basis of some assumptions or beliefs as to why people behave as they do. Furthermore, these assumptions or beliefs must be systematized and organized into what might be called a philosophy of human behavior.

Lacking such a systematic way of looking at behavior, a would-be interpreter might easily slip into the error of confusing symptoms with causes. He might, for example, "tell" the student who annoys others with attention-getting behavior that he must stop drawing attention to himself because others think less of him. On the other hand, having the hypothesis that attention-getting behavior is the outward expression of an inner insecurity (which again may be related to many factors), the interpreter treats the symptom as a symptom, explores for the causes of the insecurity, and in this way paves the way for a course of action that will assist the student to develop more security and ultimately desist attracting undue attention to himself.

Similarly, belief about behavior serves as a selector for the interpreter; that is, he looks for certain symptoms, much as a doctor checks a patient for various indicators of disease. The interpreter of behavior knows that, granting his assumptions are valid, certain factors in personal-social relations are more important, usually, than other factors. Accordingly, the P-S1 reflects a certain way of looking at human behavior which should be briefly explained in order to (a) facilitate the interpretation of scores and (b) explain the inclusion of some categories of items and the exclusion of others.

A CONCEPT OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The basic proposition or organizing principle which ties the various P-S1 categories together might be stated thus: in personal-social relations, students (1) engage in activities in order to, (2)

achieve certain purposes; in so doing they, (3) encounter certain difficulties, to overcome which they, (4) draw upon their personal resources of social skill and experience.

Even though we run the grave risk of oversimplification, the four elements of this basic proposition may be somewhat crudely illustrated as follows: A freshman's inability to dance denies him participation in many social activities on the campus; he discovers the "learner's class," rearranges his schedule of classes and outside work so that he may attend; learns to dance; and then is able to participate on an equal plane with others in the social life to which he aspired. This illustration is obviously oversimplified, but the basic pattern of behavior seems sound: the freshman strives to achieve a purpose (he wants to participate with others socially); he is blocked (he cannot dance); he draws upon his personal resources (his money to pay for the lessons; his ability to rearrange his schedule; his stick-to-it-iveness in attending the class); he overcomes the difficulty (he learns to dance and participates freely in social life).

Obviously, human behavior is rarely, if ever, as simple as this illustration of how people encounter and overcome difficulties. Purposes are often complex and numerous; sometimes they are not recognized: a student doesn't always know what he really wants, psychologically speaking, when he is prompted by some inner urge to seek the friendship of others. Difficulties are encountered but not recognized: a socially inexperienced student who came from a limited home background did not recognize his inexperience for what it was; instead he withdrew from social life, bewildered and hurt. Social skill and experience are often lacking when the student needs them to meet a new difficulty: the familiar freshman behavior during the first week of the college experience manifests students' inadequate preparation socially for the contingencies of the new environment. More than this, activities as such may belie the purposes students have in participating in them: for example, a student "goes out" for football, not because he's particularly interested in athletics, needs the exercise, or for any other reason related obviously to the values of the sport, but because being a letter-man will give him a social status he wants. Thus, we see that the basic psychological process involved in

behavior—achieving goals or purposes, meeting and attempting to overcome difficulties—is sound but hedged about with complicating considerations.

ADJUSTMENTS IN TERMS OF PEOPLE

We are now ready to set the categories of the P-S1 into this pattern or framework. The activities (Part I) and difficulties (Part II) in personal-social relations may be seen to occur with major groups or types of people. Here we have the categories: (1) Opposite Sex, (2) Family, (3) Faculty.

In the Opposite Sex category, the inventory makes the assumption that students in college have goals or purposes involving heterosexual adjustment. These are "must" goals because of the very nature of the organism and the demands of our culture. Students *not* engaging in personal-social relations with the opposite sex—the timid girl, the girl-shy boy—are atypical and manifest in their withdrawal an adjustment which is often inappropriate.

In the Family category, the inventory accepts the concept that students in late adolescence (as well as at other ages) have a strong need for affection, for being loved by one or several persons. Such a person or group of persons is the family, or its substitute in relations with other adults. At the same time, the college student must be achieving adulthood, part of which involves achieving independence from the family. To achieve the nice balance between these two apparently opposing purposes occasions much adolescent (and parental) concern. Relations with the family represent a crucial area of personal-social adjustment, for they suggest whether the person is mature and ready to be responsible for himself or whether he is still overly dependent on adults. His basic emotional security, his sense of being a self-respecting person, valued for his own sake by others whom he respects, is rooted in his emotional ties to mother and father (or their substitutes).

In the Faculty category the inventory explores the way in which the student reacts to adults who are in his immediate environment but who are not necessarily parent substitutes. Faculty members as individuals or as a group represent in our society a peculiar psychological relation with the student. They represent authority—the authority of wisdom, learning, of the ones who supposedly

know what the student is manifestly in college to learn; the authority of adults who, therefore, represent those with whom the student must get along as a younger adult. Faculty are neither parents nor peers, although they may, in individual cases, be either or somewhere in between. The important reason for including the category of Faculty may be summed up thus: How do students (or a student) react to those in their immediate society who represent authority, the controlling power, the wisdom regarding mores and ideals? Is the student's reaction one of dependence? hostility? indifference? feeling of equality? appreciation? In these feelings, as manifested by the student's activities and difficulties in this area, we may find clues to the student's basic adjustments in personal-social relations.

BASIC PURPOSES INVOLVED IN ADJUSTMENTS

In the organization of the P-S1, activities and difficulties also relate to purposes. The following categories relate to different unifying purposes which tie various kinds of activities and difficulties together:

- Belonging (activities and difficulties, Parts I and II)
- Likeness-to-Others (Part II only)
- Physical Well-being (Part II only)

In the Belonging category, the inventory explores the extent to which the student (or the group) appears to be achieving the basic human purpose of being accepted or valued by one or more social groups, whether large or small, organized or informal. The P-S1 assumes that every person has a psychological need to achieve this sense of belonging, just as certainly as he has a physical need to be clothed and fed. This is a "basic personality need," as defined by Prescott:

Normal, wholesome personality development in the social world demands that the child expand the scope of his activities into successively wider social groupings. His functioning in these groupings must be of the effective sort which will give him the feeling of "belonging" in these groups. He must feel that he is important in these groupings, that he is well thought of, that he is valued. The social valuation that is the basis for this sense of belonging possibly arises from what the individual is, from the contributions which he makes to the various groupings. The

achievement of maturity requires that the child accomplish the steady widening of this belonging from the family to play groups, to the school class, to clubs, and so on. Without this sense of increasing belonging the "security" of the individual is greatly menaced, and his valuation of himself suffers to the point of involving him in very serious and continuing unpleasant emotions. Resulting attempts to relieve this tension, to demonstrate personal importance, may involve the individual in all sorts of antisocial or regressive behavior entirely inimical to ordered personality development.⁶

The activities which accomplish this purpose may involve going to a campus hangout, going to dances, dating, being "in on" invitations to house parties, the social affairs of a club or fraternity, and the like. Difficulties encountered in belonging, whatever their cause may be, are reflected in such items as these from the Belonging category of Part II:

101. Being in too few student activities.
129. Spending too much time with one or very few persons.
150. Being uninterested in the kinds of social activities available.

The category Likeness-to-Others⁷ stems from the assumption that the individual and especially the adolescent has a need to feel that he is like others in essential and desirable ways, that he is fundamentally a person like other persons. The feeling of being like others or of being unlike others only in ways that are valued or admired is easier to get at by giving the student a chance to say in what respects, if any, he feels *unlike* others; hence in the category Likeness-to-Others in Part II the student responds to such items as these:

106. Being self-conscious about noticeable physical defects.
135. Being embarrassed by family background.
173. Feeling that I am too tall or too short.

The difference from others may be factual or imagined. If fanciful, it is probably more serious from a mental health standpoint, for the person who in appearance, mental equipment, background, and in other ways is generally like those about him, *but who still feels different*, may be involved in serious emotional con-

⁶ D. A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educational Process* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), p. 117.

⁷ Prescott, *ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

flicts. He may be immobilized in affectional relations so that he cannot be friendly; he alienates others, a trait which in turn drives him further away from others and reduces his chances of developing acceptable relations.

The category Physical Well-being can also be considered from the point of view of whether the student's feelings about his health are grounded in fact or fancy. The following items illustrate the category:

114. Lack of sleep spoiling my enjoyment of social activities.
128. Physical deficiencies keeping me out of sports or other extra-curricular activities.
153. Being nervous, "jumpy," or irritable too much of the time.

The inventory serves a purpose for the student with genuine ailments by identifying how he thinks these physical deficiencies affect his social relations. For the student with imagined physical deficiencies, the inventory identifies the reasons which the student may be using in his own thinking to avoid meeting personal-social difficulties squarely. For example, a student who is timid and shy is asked by well-meaning acquaintances to go with them to a formal dance. The prospect terrifies her, for she does not know how to dance. She cannot bring herself to state the real reasons why she must refuse the invitation. Instead, she pounces upon the excuse of a headache or some other physical indisposition. This excuse satisfies her acquaintances, avoids the gruelling experience (for her) of asserting the real reasons why she will not go. But the relief is only temporary, of course. Another invitation comes immediately from someone else. She must refuse or be seen by the first group, although she could accept the second invitation. It is easy to see how from such a simple beginning, a student might gradually evolve a whole pattern of illogical behavior in which spurious physical deficiencies are offered as the reason for lack of personal-social activity of a wholesome sort.

Still more unfortunate, however, is the fact that in many instances this kind of thing occurs unconsciously. The girl in our example did not admit, even to herself, that she could not possibly explain her real reasons for refusing these invitations. Consequently, it is entirely probable that the girl is completely con-

vinced that her headache or whatever physical deficiency it seems most appropriate to have at the moment is a fact and not a fancy.

USING PERSONAL RESOURCES OF SKILL AND EXPERIENCE

Important to the individual's personal-social adjustments is his ability and skill in doing the things which others in his group do. Particularly is this true with reference to the social activities which are highly valued by the group to which the individual aspires to belong. The extreme value placed upon athletic prowess in some colleges is a good example. Where this obtains, the student who is an athlete is assured a status, even though in other respects than athletic ability he is not particularly adept. The student, on the other hand, who is inept in athletics finds it difficult to secure a status with his athletically minded friends except by becoming the wag, the water-boy, or the butt of jokes, roles which he may be disinclined to play. Accordingly, such a student may become tense in his personal-social relations, developing a cynicism, a veiled bitterness, or a lone-wolf mode of life which blocks his development. The background of social experience in which these skills have or have not been developed is, therefore, an important consideration in appraising the social adjustment of the individual or the group.

In the inventory, the category Social Skills in Part I includes such activities as these:

2. Singing in a glee club, chorus, quartette, or similar musical group.
76. Playing cards, parlor games, billiards, and similar indoor games with fellow-students.

The sixteen items of the category sample the major types of social activities involving skills and abilities, such as those used in the school publications, athletic organizations, formal and informal parties, and so on. The assumption is that a student's lack of any, or at best his possession of only a few, of the skills and abilities which others in his group possess, constitutes an important factor in his relations with these students.

Whether or not a student finds difficulty in acquiring the social skills he wants is inventoried in the category Social Skills in Part II; a few items will illustrate the content of this category:

102. Forgetting names or faces.
105. Not knowing how to dance well.
130. Not having the skills or talents to excel in extra-curricular activities.

The assumption here is that the student who checks many such concerns and difficulties, whether or not he possesses social skill, is being strongly influenced in his relations with others by his *feeling* that he is inadequate, inept, and unskilled.

A second personal resource in meeting difficulties is the extent and adequacy of the student's social experience. The student who feels inexperienced may be justified in his feeling either because his experience has been too limited or because it has been of the wrong kind. Items from the category Social Experience in Part II sample concerns which involve both extent and adequacy of experience. For example:

Extent

116. Family making unreasonable restrictions in regard to my social life.
120. Failure of high school to provide adequate experiences in preparation for college social life.

Adequacy

141. Being treated like a child by my parents.
170. Not having done unusual or interesting things in the past about which I can talk.
149. Being considered unsophisticated and socially inexperienced.

TYPES OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

There remain three categories of Part I, all of them organized around different types of social experiences that are common on a college campus: Intellectual and Aesthetic Activities, Activities Involving Leadership and Initiative, Social Welfare Activities. Although in interpreting a pattern of scores for either a group or an individual the three categories should be studied singly, they have some common denominators that tie them together and make consideration of them as a group a useful approach. Participation with others by students in intellectual and aesthetic activities, in performing work with others that has social welfare implications, and in developing leadership and initiative are usually assumed to be among the goals of education. That is, social activities of

these types are encouraged by the college community because they provide students with experiences that are essential to their development as future leaders and as college-trained citizens.

INTELLECTUAL AND AESTHETIC ACTIVITIES

In this category are included the activities of a social sort which involve music, writing, painting, singing, studying, having bull-sessions (of an "intellectual" sort), and the like. The assumption underlying the category is that in the college environment, where the emphasis is presumably intellectual and aesthetic, the opportunities for social participation in activities of these sorts are more or less numerous. Consequently, the student who does not utilize these opportunities is for some reason avoiding experiences which should promote his growth.

ACTIVITIES INVOLVING LEADERSHIP AND INITIATIVE

The interpreter of an individual's responses in this category might well proceed on the assumption that everyone would like to be a leader, to show initiative in some respect. Thus, a student with complete indifference (checking all sixteen items "D") might be badly frustrated, either by his own incapacity or by the situation on the campus which prevented his expressing himself at all. Somewhat similarly, the student with no activity, but with a large number of "unfulfilled interests" in this category (a high "U" score), would indicate a milder degree of this same frustration. The difference between the two persons would be that the latter says, in effect, "These are the things I should like to be doing—but don't do," whereas the former says, "There is nothing I want to do," an attitude which is highly unlikely to be grounded in fact.

SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES

In addition to suggesting still another area in which the student may participate or desire to participate in personal-social activities, this category is valuable because of the light it may cast on the student's social sensitivity. Oftentimes the individual is incapable of adjusting socially because he is too wrapped up in himself; he seems blind to the interests and welfare of others; he is virtually incapable of showing any warmth and pleasure in being with and working with other people for some common good. On

all campuses the opportunities for contributing to the welfare of others are numerous; some of these may be illustrated from the items of this category:

23. Participating in social service work through the Scouts, YMCA, etc.
44. Serving as a student-counselor.
69. Being helpful to students who are ill or whose financial means are limited—for example, doing errands for students in the infirmary, raising money for scholarship or loan funds, sharing books or other belongings.

THE INTERRELATION OF CATEGORIES

The P-S1 categories are not to be considered discrete units, each one sampling an element in personal-social adjustment that operates apart from other elements. On the contrary, the categories are as closely interrelated as are the factors themselves in affecting human behavior. For example, the relation may be causative. Consider the factors of Belonging and Likeness-to-Others: an individual with many concerns in both categories, showing that he doesn't feel that he belongs to whatever group to which he aspires and that he doesn't feel like others in "essential and desirable ways" may have difficulty in belonging because he does not feel himself to be like others. The interpreter and student might then attend first in their discussions to the likeness-to-others factor.

The relation may be one of dependence, illustrated by the categories Family and Faculty. The individual presumably should be weaning himself emotionally from the family by the time he is in college; that is, he should still have some activity, but should not have large numbers of unfulfilled interests or concerns. Instead, he should be having social participation with faculty, more unfulfilled interests, few concerns. He should be establishing strong ties, in other words, with nonfamily adults and with age peers, as indicated in many of the other categories. Thus, the *pattern* of responses to the Family and Faculty categories should be noted.

Or the factors may be related by having common components. For example, many of the activities in the categories of Part I, such as Intellectual and Aesthetic, Leadership and Initiative, and Social Skills, involve "belonging" and could justifiably be included in the Belonging category. Similarly, some social skills involve leadership

and initiative. Recognition of the common elements among the categories is accorded in the 28 items out of 100 which are cross-classified. The interpreter of responses must be alert to additional evidence of interrelationship.

A Method for Interpreting an Individual's Responses

The method to be described for interpreting an individual's responses consists of five major steps:

1. Studying the pattern of scores and the item responses.
2. Identifying possible needs.
3. Exploring resources, personal and on campus, to meet needs.
4. Determining courses of action.
5. Following through.

STEP 1: STUDYING THE PATTERN OF SCORES AND THE ITEM RESPONSES

The pattern of category scores may be readily seen in some such summary as the four-grid profile illustrated in Figure 3, page 194. It may be helpful to begin the interpretation by raising certain questions:

A. How does the student's pattern of scores compare with the median? We are assuming that the median score (the middle score when all scores are ranked from lowest to highest) has value as a point of departure only. We are *not* assuming that the median represents a norm or the "best" reaction; it is simply a score which describes the general characteristic of a group. Inasmuch as the student's personal-social relations with this group are being inventoried, it seems feasible to start an interpretation with his differences or similarities to that group. The obvious danger that "because the average student behaves in this way, it is right for this student" is one to be carefully avoided. Value-judgments as to what is good adjustment or poor adjustment must be made on other bases. (It is in fact entirely possible for the whole group to be so poorly adjusted socially that the median score, judged by mental-health criteria, might indicate a very poor adjustment!)

B. In what categories are the student's scores significantly different from the median? If we assume as our standard of "significance" the probability of five chances out of one hundred that

the score really is different from the median (the so-called 95 percent level of significance), then, through statistical analysis we can easily identify the student's category scores which differ from the median for his group at the 95 percent level.

C. What is suggested by the student's response to specific items? We are interested in the specific items which account for a student's deviation from the median scores, for it is in these that the interpreter and the student will find not only hypotheses to account for the student's pattern of behavior, but also the courses of action he might follow in his program of self-improvement.

Specific items must be first of all studied in groups, as they pattern themselves. For example, a student checks the item "117. Being homesick" as an important concern or difficulty. Considered by itself, this response may only suggest that the student is going through a transition period between home life and college life with no more than the usual emotional upsets. However, the same student also checks as important concerns these items:

- 135. Being embarrassed by family background.
- 143. Family disapproval of my friends.
- 154. Not being able to participate in the activities of a social club or fraternity.
- 112. Lack of interest in the student activities available.
- 132. Feeling that I do not know my instructors at all well.

His concern over being homesick assumes its place along with other evidences that the student is "out of joint" with his present environment, in large part perhaps because of differences between his home background and that of others in his present group. He is homesick perhaps because he wishes to flee from a social environment which is uncongenial for reasons suggested by this pattern of items.

A danger to be assiduously guarded against in considering specific item-responses is that, out of the context of the total inventory responses, the specific item, when discussed with the student, may provoke extreme defensiveness. For example, a student checks as a major concern the item "115. Too few dates." In Part I, he indicates little social activity in the Opposite Sex category and considerable unfulfilled interest. One faculty member, confronted

with this student, might be tempted to single out this response and say, in effect, "Why don't you go out and get yourself more dates? That is a simple matter. Here, let me help you; next Sunday night I'm having a group of students, fellows and girls, over for supper and a general bull-session afterward. Get a date and come over. Be there around six." Even though this gesture is certainly well meaning, it is unlikely that such an abrupt suggestion, based upon the response to one item considered out of its context would do more than drive the student away from his problem, encourage him to retreat from the somewhat dominating counselor, and thus nullify any further efforts to help him. In addition, he may regret having "given myself away" because his counselor, through insensitive use of the response, has, as it were, invaded the student's private world instead of waiting to be invited in.

On the other hand, if this faculty member explores with the student the basis for his response and identifies some of the causes—such as feelings of social inadequacy, insufficient time, self-consciousness about noticeable physical defects, and the like—he then has laid the groundwork for improvement in the student's attack upon his problem. Perhaps many Sundays will roll by before the student is emotionally ready to tackle his problem vigorously. Perhaps such measures as securing employment to earn money to buy socially acceptable clothes, or correcting through diet and exercise the overweight which has caused self-consciousness, or participating in informal-group social affairs, such as class parties, are essential preliminary steps before the student is ready to improve in his heterosexual adjustments by direct action.

STEP 2: IDENTIFYING NEEDS

It will be recalled that a need⁸ may be defined as "the gap between where the student is and where he ought to be." The inventory provides evidence of where he is or where he thinks he is with reference to selected aspects of personal-social relations. Now we face the task of arriving at tentative judgments as to where he ought to be—as to what specific aspects of his social development stand in need of improvement.

⁸ "Need" is also used in this report to refer to basic personality requirements or needs. Thus, we speak of a "need to belong," a "need for physiological equilibrium," etc. The two uses should not be confusing, however, because of the explicit context.

THE MEDIAN AS A "NORM"

To make such judgments, we must, of course, have in mind some criteria of what is good or bad social behavior at the student's age. The median may be used in some instances as a rough kind of indicator of need. Thus, if the median number of social activities with the opposite sex in which all students engage is 8 (out of 16 items in the category), and a student engages in no activities of this sort, we may assert that he has a "need for social development involving members of the opposite sex." Especially when we note that he has no desire for such activity, whereas the median student checks five unfulfilled interests in this category, do we feel more certain that he has definite needs in this area.

However, the median as a norm or an indication of what is good adjustment and, therefore, as a definition of "where the student ought to be" has only limited usefulness for at least two reasons. In the first place, since the median is a measure which describes where the average student is in a certain sense, it is no more right or wrong, good or bad, than the whole group which it describes. For instance, the median number of activities for all freshman men and women in thirteen colleges of the Study in the Faculty category is 3; the median number of unfulfilled interests is 9. Many of the colleges, faced with these figures, are extremely dissatisfied that students have so few activities of a personal-social sort with faculty members. These colleges feel that such activities are an important resource in achieving educational objectives.

Second, the median must be cautiously regarded in identifying needs because for a given individual the pattern of scores is more important than his proximity to the median in any or all categories.

OTHER BASES FOR VALUE-JUDGMENTS REGARDING NEEDS

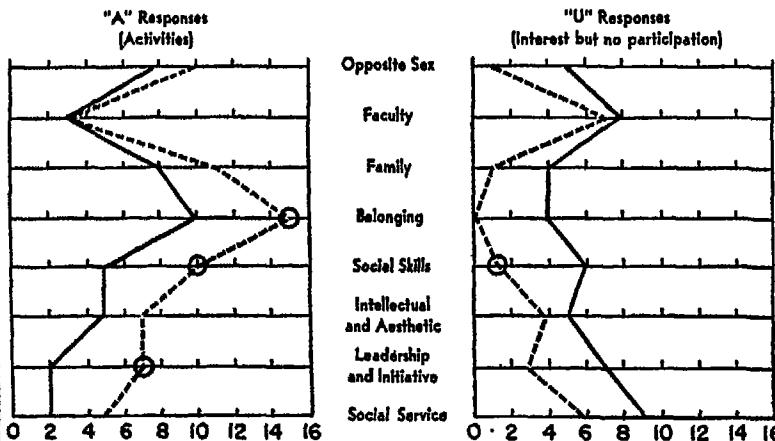
More valid but less tangible bases for determining what needs are manifested by a given pattern of scores for an individual or a group are to be found in the concept of human behavior held by the interpreter. One such frame of reference or point of view is discussed at length in Part III of this volume, together with the facts and principles in psychology, sociology, philosophy, and bi-

INDIVIDUAL SUMMARY OF RESPONSES ON P-SI

Name: Bill Sex: (M) F Class: F S J Sr. Date _____

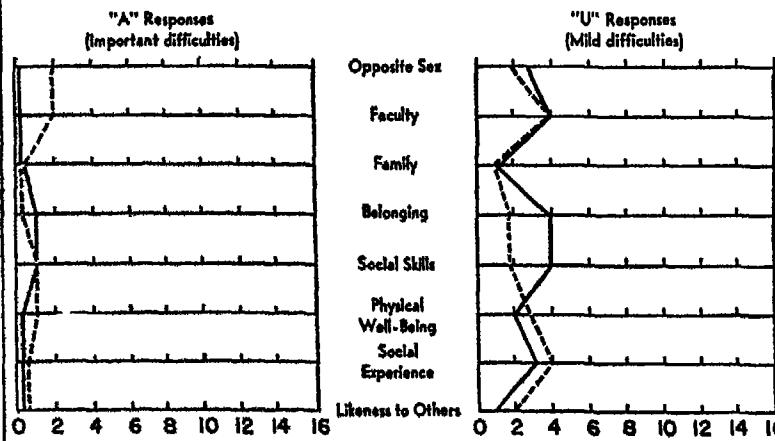
PART I. Activities and Interests

Student's total responses: "A" 56 "U" 16 "D" 28 Medians for 200 Freshmen: "A" ____ "U" ____ "D" ____



PART II. Difficulties

Student's total responses: "A" 6 "U" 14 "D" 80 Medians for 200 Freshmen: "A" ____ "U" ____ "D" ____



Median scores for freshmen men: _____
 Scores of this student: _____

FIG. 3.—A summary of Bill's responses on the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations, showing a pattern of good adjustment—many activities, few unfulfilled interests, and few concerns. Circled scores are those above or below the median at the 95 percent level of probability.

ology upon which it is based. By applying these concepts in the interpretation of P-S1 responses, the interpreter may sense areas of tension, discrepancies between what is and what ought to be, ways in which the person or the group should improve, and, finally, may be able to make judgments regarding the kinds of experiences needed to progress in desirable directions.

CHARACTERISTIC PATTERNS OF SCORES

Some of the common patterns of response which have been found by college teachers to indicate needs of one sort or another can be briefly listed; these thumb-nail sketches of patterns indicating need may be helpful to those using the inventory for the first time. It should hastily be added, however, that these suggestions should not make the interpretation of inventory responses mechanical and automatic, since obviously similar patterns may have entirely different significance and meaning in the lives of two different people.

Good adjustment: a pattern of many activities, few unfulfilled interests, and few concerns.—Figure 3 gives a picture of social living without severe stresses and strains.

Admittedly, students with patterns like Bill's which show no marked or obvious personality limitations that snarl their social lives tend to get little attention from counselors who are busy enough with the deviates. If, however, the college program is designed to be preventive as well as remedial, it must provide experiences which enable the well-adjusted student to develop further his personal resources. Many of the cooperating colleges have recognized this objective of education. Consequently, when they find a well-adjusted student they do not dismiss him with the thought "he doesn't need individual help" but provide such students with numerous experiences which lead to continued growth.

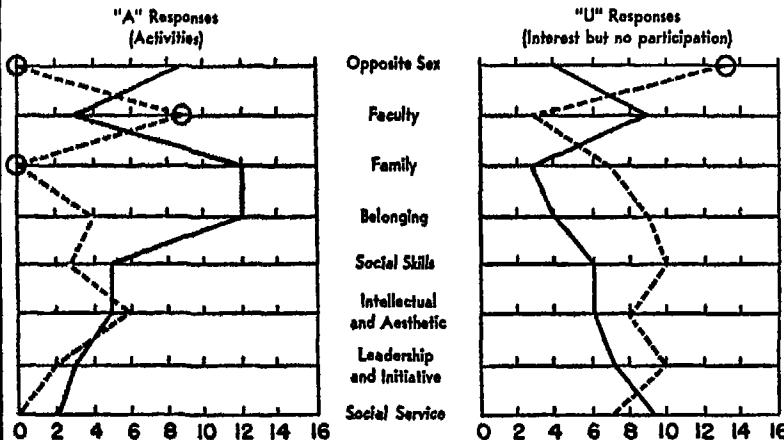
The withdrawn, tense adjustment: a pattern of few activities, many unfulfilled interests, and many concerns.—(See Figure 4.) This is a common pattern among those adjudged by fellow-students and faculty counselors to be withdrawn, inept, and tense socially. They participate little in the social life of the campus, but want to participate very extensively. For numerous reasons they cannot and do not participate—hence, their many concerns. They

INDIVIDUAL SUMMARY OF RESPONSES ON P-SI

Name Ruth Sex: M Class: S J Sr. Date _____

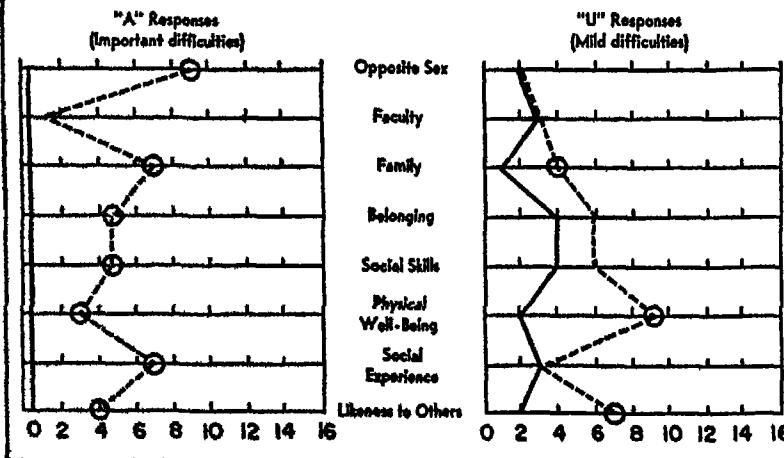
PART I. Activities and Interests

Student's total responses: "A" 21 "U" 50 "D" 29 Medians for 100% Gr.: "A" — "U" — "D" —



PART II. Difficulties

Student's total responses: "A" 31 "U" 32 "D" 39 Medians for 100% Gr.: "A" — "U" — "D" —



Median scores for freshmen women _____
Scores for this student _____

FIG. 4.—A summary of Ruth's responses on the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations, showing a pattern of withdrawn, tense adjustment—few activities, many unfulfilled interests, and many concerns. Circled scores are those above or below the median at the 95 percent level of probability.

tend to be frustrated and emotionally tense. Some may show this emotion, this inner tension, by obvious manifestations, such as efforts to get attention or avowals of indifference toward or scorn for the social life of the campus, and so on. Most students with this pattern, however, are retiring. The last thing they want is attention because they are self-conscious and sensitive. They lack aggression; they do not seek out social experience; they do not obviously try to make friends; and, in the hurly-burly of the college shuffle, they tend to be left behind, somewhat wistfully "hanging on" as attendants at large group functions such as class parties and finally withdrawing even from these because "I have no one to go with."

One further point is important about this type of pattern: such a student easily escapes the attention of the less alert faculty member and student adviser, for he is inconspicuous, law-abiding, "just always there" in the classroom, in the halls, or in the dining-room. His inner tension does not show itself very obviously, but the person who is sensitive to such signs as nail-biting, daydreaming, over-fastidiousness in dress (or its opposite), lonesomeness, and the like, readily realizes that such a student is inwardly tense and unhappy for reasons he may or may not recognize.

The active, tense adjustment: a pattern of many activities, many unfulfilled interests, and many concerns.—This pattern often characterizes the student who finds his social life personally unacceptable. He participates fully with others in all kinds of social affairs; he ostensibly has many friends and acquaintances; he is thought well of by the groups to which he belongs. But he is dissatisfied, a state of mind indicated in his numerous unfulfilled interests and concerns.

The inventory is useful with such students in identifying the causes of the dissatisfaction. The student may be trying to escape himself by always being with others. Solitude such as accompanies studying alone, taking solitary walks, pursuing a hobby by oneself, and similar activities is abhorrent because such students find themselves unbearable company. This kind of fear of being alone is not rooted in the normal urge to be gregarious; it is essentially an escape from concerns and difficulties which the student cannot or will not face squarely.

The indifference adjustment: a pattern of few activities, few unfulfilled interests, and few concerns.—The only difference between this pattern and that of the well-adjusted student is that the indifferent student does not participate in the social life of the campus—at least those phases of it alluded to by the inventory. The first hypothesis, therefore, is that the student is indeed well-adjusted but simply does not engage in campus social life for any one of a number of legitimate reasons—reasons which are sound from a mental health standpoint.

An occasional student with the indifference pattern will think the inventory is so much "eye-wash" and refuse to indicate any activities, interests, or concerns. Since the inventory responses constitute a self-portrait, the picture may be revealing and useful in counseling even when it is distorted or inaccurate. Thus, the hostile student fools no one but himself, for his hostility should show up in his behavior during the interview. He may refuse to discuss his responses, be sullen and noncommunicative, confine himself to vague generalities, or in other ways indicate an unwillingness to discuss his responses. Such students are not at all numerous; when there are any, their attitude, so well expressed in spite of themselves in the inventory responses, manifests a need for reassurance by the counselor that he (the counselor) is genuinely interested in knowing the student in order to help him improve in ways in which he (the student) wants to improve.

Indifference is usually indicative of other needs. Indifference may be feigned for any number of reasons, such as a desire to prevent discussion of topics which might threaten to disturb one emotionally; a real ignorance of one's feelings, needs, and goals; or a conviction that the faculty member with whom he would talk over the results of the inventory could be of little if any help.

CONSIDERATIONS IN CONCLUSION

It should be emphasized that these various patterns we have discussed rarely occur in so clean-cut and identifiable a form. On the contrary, the responses of the individual student, while they may tend to form a pattern which conforms in a rough way to one of these types, actually may be made up of a mixture of types. That is, with respect to a single category such as Opposite Sex, a given

student may conform to the pattern of good adjustment while at the same time in another category, such as Family, he may conform to the pattern of indifference. These types of patterns, therefore, are useful only as a basis for discussion, as a kind of oversimplification of patterns of response which is useful in pointing out some of the psychological mechanisms which may be involved.

In conclusion, step 2, identifying needs, should end with a statement as to the specific needs that the student recognizes as important. While it is no doubt true that a great deal of good may accrue from a somewhat vague, generalized discussion of how a student may improve his personal-social development, the most effective use of the inventory would involve a clear statement of needs. Such statements may be on various levels of specificity. For example, in the case of one student, the following general areas of need were established:

1. Improvement in heterosexual adjustment
2. Development of self-confidence
3. Development of genuine friendships with adults
4. Development of ability to be self-analytical

Or needs may be stated in more specific terms, such as the following:

1. Development of ability to lead small groups
2. Improvement in casual, informal relations with the opposite sex
3. Development of ability to show friendliness
4. Improvement in ability to be aggressive in the classroom

STEP 3: EXPLORING RESOURCES, PERSONAL AND ON CAMPUS, TO MEET NEEDS

The job of getting a student to do something about the need which he recognizes is not, however, simply a matter of pointing out to him that "to improve in heterosexual adjustment," he must "have more dates." On the contrary, there are a number of counseling principles which define the functions of the interpreter of the inventory and may be stated somewhat as follows:

A. Information should be supplied to the student only in a context of recognized need. For example, a student with severe acne is unaware of the campus resources for combatting this con-

dition. Merely telling him that the health service is located in Central Hall, that appointments may be made between the hours of three and five any afternoon, and that consultation service is free is insufficient. Even such sound information is not useful unless the student is motivated to want it. If in the discussion of physical conditions as they affect personal-social relations the student raises the question, "Where can I get information about treating my acne?" then such information as this is readily received and more likely to be acted upon.

B. The student should be motivated to do something about his need by a conviction that the faculty member has faith in his power to cope with the difficulty. This kind of positive faith in the other person is an important ingredient in satisfying the student's need. As has been indicated elsewhere, it is a faith which manifests itself in countless subtle ways so that no amount of effort to display a faith that is not felt will very long disguise the real nature of the pretense. The importance of the faculty member's confidence in the student is underlined by the fact that insecurity in social relations is frequently the cause of a student's being immobilized emotionally when confronted with the need to improve. Such students have little faith in themselves; they are inclined to avoid efforts to improve because, lacking self-confidence, they are doomed to too frequent failure; they thus face a difficulty with little hope of overcoming it. The counselor's faith in them tends to break into this vicious circle.

C. The counselor should help the student clarify his thinking by (1) helping him to see relations; (2) helping him to establish goals; (3) helping him to see himself realistically; (4) and helping him to evaluate experiences constantly.

The counselor helps the student to see the relation, for example, between his various needs. A student indicates that he is concerned about his physical appearance and at the same time feels that he does not belong. These feelings may have a common denominator in the student's attitude toward himself. The counselor can help the student to see this relation and to focus attention upon his basic need to take himself as he is and to plan self-development on this basis.

The counselor may help the student to establish goals which are consistent with the student's capacities and opportunities. For example, a student desired above all else to be a leader. Her inventory pattern indicated no activities (but 11 unfulfilled interests) in the category Leadership and Initiative. In Part II this student indicated several concerns related to her desire for status as a leader, such as:

177. Not ever being able to take the lead in social activities.
127. Being unable to say my share of interesting things in a social gabfest.
170. Not having done unusual or interesting things in the past about which I can talk.
200. Feeling that what I can contribute to student groups is not considered important.

She tended to romanticize in her mind the heroic roles which she could play in various campus activities. The counselor knew that she was a student of limited ingenuity and creativeness whose social relations, furthermore, were impaired by her obvious unwillingness to play second fiddle. The counselor helped this student by enabling her to see her goal of leadership was, with reference to many activities, inconsistent with her capacities. Through his faith in her as a human being, he enabled her to find satisfaction in taking a less outstanding role. This realization manifestly reduced her tension. She tended less to strive for the attention of others and to deprecate her inability to say and do unusual or unique things. As her willingness to be "one of the crowd" increased, she found to her delight that she was being assigned to minor roles of leadership such as cochairman of a student council committee. The counselor's function in clarifying the goals of this student was thus of tremendous importance in improving the student's social life.

In helping the student to see himself realistically, the counselor provides the student with an interviewing environment that is emotionally free and permissive. This means that if the student is so inclined, he may say anything about himself or others that he wishes without fear of losing the confidence of the counselor or without fear of moral condemnation or reprisal in any other form.

Principles involved in creating this kind of interview situation relate to the most profound insights of therapeutic counseling.⁹ These are discussed in chapter iii and need not be reiterated here. However, it may be well to re-emphasize the necessity on the part of the counselor of providing the kind of relation which frees the student.

In assisting the student to evaluate his experiences, a counselor should be alert to the need on the part of most students to learn how to evaluate experience. Experiences always have some effect, however slight, on the individual. They are felt to be good or bad, interesting or dull, stimulating or frustrating. These feelings and judgments of experiences predispose us to seek or avoid other experiences. The counselor helps the student to express these judgments and feelings and to relate them to his planning for the future. For example, discussions of experiences may lead up to such evaluative statements as these:

I got a kick out of being chairman on the war bond drive because of the insight it gave me into how defensive other people are when they can contribute but for some reason will not.

Although I had a minor role in the senior class play in high school, I enjoyed the experience. It taught me how to forget myself before an audience.

Not being asked to join the fraternity made me very blue for a long time. Then I realized that the fraternities were composed of students who were willing to confine their friends to people of a certain type. Since I enjoy being with all types of people, I am no longer bothered by not being a fraternity man.

When feelings and judgments have been freely and candidly expressed, it is possible to discuss them objectively and thus to lay the foundation for improved mental health. The student understands better both where he is and where he wants to be.

STEP 4: DETERMINING COURSES OF ACTION

Certain principles should be considered in accomplishing step 4. First, the student should be ready to take the courses of action

⁹See Carl Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* for an elaboration of the meaning of permissive counseling, the conditions in which it is effective, and its techniques. See especially chaps. ii-v, pp. 19-131.

selected; that is, the student's readiness or predisposition or level of development should be recognized in selecting courses of action. This is the familiar principle of "start where the student is." In practice, the principle prevents us from encouraging a student who has had no dates to go right out and get one for next Friday's formal party. Instead, we proceed slowly by helping the student to gain self-confidence, to improve his social skills (such as in dancing and games), to develop freedom in casual, informal contacts with the opposite sex in the classroom, the halls, and in the dining-rooms; these small, initial steps lead gradually and easily to the larger step of dating and lay the basis for a happy relation that might otherwise, if too abruptly developed, be a source of setbacks in heterosexual development for the student.

A second principle is that the courses of action should be specific. If the student has a need, for example, for developing leadership, he should seek specific ways of leading others, such as initiating a program of discussion groups, introducing a plan for assisting impoverished or friendless students, leading others in carrying out improvements in the community.

A third principle is that the courses of action should be realistic and of intrinsic value. That is, to initiate a series of discussion groups when it would merely duplicate another program would be pulling an unrealistic stunt.

In addition, the course of action should be worth while in itself. One student who was so shy of faculty members that he never recited in class, never spoke to them before or after class, and in general avoided contact with them set for himself the job of saying "hello" to a certain teacher as they casually passed in the hall every day. This experiment was successful; one day the boy dropped in to ask a question of the teacher. Gradually, he overcame his inordinate and paralyzing fear of teachers until he finally felt much more at ease in most classes and could even participate quite freely in some. Saying "hello" was symptomatic of friendliness on this campus so that his decision was realistic, for it did not demand that he do anything out of line with the usual behavior of others, nothing to attract attention. Saying "hello" was also intrinsically of value for it represented a genuine interest in being friendly.

STEP 5: FOLLOW-UP

Determining courses of action, fulfilling them, and continuing to evaluate the experience in the light of needs constitutes the process of follow-through. There should be a continuous, persistent appraisal of the student's progress toward his goals of self-realization. The usefulness of the inventory in this process of appraisal is only concluded when it sheds no further light on the student's needs or ways through which he may improve. Follow-through requires a positive, constructive attitude and a way of going about the use of the inventory which precludes unfinished tasks.

Some of the procedures which may be involved in follow-up include: recurrent interviews; retesting through the use of the P-S1 or comparable inventories and tests; writing out in the initial (or an early) interview on P-S1 results a schedule of activities, proposals and plans, in order to have a written memorandum as a guide in replanning or evaluating courses taken.

Using P-S1 Group Results

The broad objective of general education to change the behavior of the individual student in desirable ways can be approached in three interrelated ways: (1) by directly changing the student through instruction, counseling, therapy, tutoring, and so forth; (2) by indirectly controlling the conditions which affect him; and (3) by changing the college environment. It is with the last method of affecting the individual's behavior that the use of P-S1 group results is principally concerned.

We have asserted in this report the validity of the concept that the individual's behavior is affected by his interaction with his environment. We need to understand not only how the individual reacts to the environment, but also how his behavior may be influenced by the kind of environment with which he interacts.

When the social environment needs improvement because of its adverse effects on the development of a number of students, we may speak of a "group need"—a need which is manifested by a sufficiently large proportion of the members of the group. Through the study of group needs in the student body, therefore, we may relate the use of P-S1 group results to the educational objective

TABLE 2
MEDIAN, HIGHEST, AND LOWEST SCORES BY CATEGORIES OF THE SELF-INVENTORY OF
PERSONAL-SOCIAL RELATIONS FOR 100 JUNIOR WOMEN

| Category | Part I | | | | Part II | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------|-------------------|--------|---------|----|-------------------|--------|
| | A | U | Range Low High | Median | A | U | Range Low High | Median |
| Total Score..... | 18-77 | 50 | 7-67 | 33 | 0-63 | 16 | 0-95 | 2 |
| Opposite Sex..... | 1-16 | 12 | 0-18 | 3 | 0-12 | 1 | 0-15 | 0 |
| Faculty..... | 0-18 | 4 | 1-15 | 9 | 0-16 | 8 | 0-14 | 0 |
| Family..... | 0-18 | 11 | 0-15 | 4 | 0-11 | 0 | 0-16 | 0 |
| Belonging..... | 5-16 | 18 | 0-10 | 2 | 0-7 | 1 | 0-15 | 0 |
| Social Skills..... | 1-14 | 7 | 0-11 | 5 | 0-11 | 4 | 0-16 | 0 |
| Intellectual and Aesthetic..... | 1-16 | 8 | 0-13 | 5 | 0-11 | 3 | 0-16 | 0 |
| Leadership and Initiative..... | 0-12 | 4 | 0-12 | 6 | 0-15 | 6 | 0-16 | 0 |
| Social Service..... | 0-13 | 3 | 0-16 | 9 | 0-14 | 2 | 0-16 | 0 |
| Physical Well-being..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 0-16 | 0 | 0-12 | 0 |
| Likeness-to-Others..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 0-16 | 0 | 0-9 | 1 |
| Social Experience..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 0-16 | 0 | 0-12 | 3 |

of effecting changes in the behavior of individuals who constitute the student body.

FORM OF GROUP RESULTS

When the P-S1 has been administered to a group of students, the responses for the group as a whole have usually been reported in two ways: (1) by medians, highest score, and lowest score, and (2) by item analysis. Each of these should be considered briefly.

The median as a measure is useful to indicate roughly the prevailing response or the general characteristic of the group with reference to their personal-social behavior. In Table 2 the median responses of a group of 100 students—junior women in the home economics division of one of the cooperating colleges—is given by categories. The medians are the middle scores of all scores made by the group. Thus, in the category Opposite Sex, the middle score for the "A" response—12—means that 50 percent of this group checked 12 or fewer of the 16 items as activities in which they participated and 50 percent checked 12 or more.

The highest and lowest scores, reported with the medians, are useful in noting the range of responses; these, too, are shown in Table 2. The range of response together with the median indicate roughly whether the distribution of responses for the group clusters about the midpoint between the extreme scores or are skewed toward either extreme.

The range of scores and the median score thus describe the personal-social relations of the group; they suggest, in other words, what is the prevailing number of activities in various categories, the fewest number, the largest.

The item analysis indicates the number or percent of students in the group who responded "A," "U," or "D" to each item in the inventory. The responses of 100 junior-class women to five items shown in the following tabulation illustrate data of this kind.

| ITEM No. CATEGORY | ITEMS | PERCENT RESPONDING | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|----|---|
| | | A | U | D |
| PART I | | | | |
| 1 s | Going to a campus "hangout" with other students for a coke, a snack, etc. | 88 | 10 | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|--|----|----|----|
| 54 | f | Engaging in sports or games with members of the faculty. | 10 | 50 | 40 |
|----|---|--|----|----|----|

PART II

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|----|----|----|
| 107 | f | Not finding opportunity to discuss problems with instructors outside of class. | 12 | 21 | 67 |
| 122 | s, e | Lacking confidence in myself in social situations. | 13 | 23 | 64 |
| 124 | s, n | Finding it difficult to take part in college social life because I am a member of a minority racial or nationality group. | 0 | 1 | 99 |

The purposes in using P-S1 group results are mainly two: (1) to improve the social environment, and (2) to make teaching more effective by basing it upon an understanding of group needs.

PURPOSE OF GROUP RESULTS

IMPROVING THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

In improving the social environment, the faculty, the faculty and students working together, or individual faculty members may work in several ways. One way is to describe the general characteristics of the group's social behavior as a preliminary step to appraising the quality of this social behavior. Certain kinds of questions may be asked of the data, such as: (1) What are the most common personal-social activities of the group? (2) What kinds of activities which they do not have do students desire to have? (3) To what activities are they indifferent? (4) What are the prevailing concerns and difficulties? (5) To what extent is the pattern of social activity in accord with the educational objectives of the college?

One college, for example, selected a sampling of 100 students to represent the entire student body. After raising such questions as the foregoing, and comparing the responses of the group with those of students in six other colleges, the college formulated the following broad generalizations:

1. Our student body is socially homogeneous to a spectacular degree.
2. There is a strange combination on our campus of much participation and much disinterest in certain personal-social activities.

3. There seems to be exceptional rapport of our students with their families and with the faculty. They apparently feel at home, secure, protected.

4. The activities in which our students indicate an unusual degree of participation are predominantly passive, whereas many of those they reject as being uninteresting to them require some physical or mental exertion.

5. We fail to find support for some persons' belief that the men are a source of relatively great concern to most of our women students.

6. It should be gratifying to note that our students report so much more participation and so many fewer difficulties involving faculty members.

Each of these broad generalizations, distributed to the faculty in a mimeographed bulletin issued by the director of research, could, of course, be broken down into specific items that were of interest to various groups on the campus. For example, generalization No. 4 resulted from these specific responses:

Most common activities engaged in [predominantly passive]:

Having a friendly talk with my adviser about things in general.

Working with my parents on community projects.

Discussing personal problems with my adviser.

Being entertained by my adviser.

Having serious discussions with the family about major social problems.

Having congenial, informal contacts with faculty members outside of class.

Getting dates for my friends.

Enjoying friendly talks with hired campus workers.

Most common activities in which these students were not interested [predominantly active]:

Singing in a glee club, chorus, etc.

Attending departmental club meetings.

Playing an instrument.

Working on the staff of a campus publication.

Playing on an organized athletic team.

Taking a part or assisting in the production of a play or operetta.

Actively working in a campus religious group.

In the judgment of the college, this lack of interest in aesthetic and intellectual activities which require some exertion, mental or physical, represented a group need which should be studied and remedied. The responses of the students suggested a group need

for rich aesthetic experiences involving activity, not passivity.

In another institution the responses of all students within one division were contrasted with the responses of students of the same sex and classification in ten other institutions. The amount of informal social activity with faculty members was found in this college to be much less than in the other colleges. Students indicated in their responses of unfulfilled interests an eagerness for more personal-social relations with faculty members. The faculty had always intellectually agreed that such relations were potentially educative, but they had not acted upon this belief by knowing their students better as individuals. The P-S1 indication of a group need acted as an "exciting force." The faculty accordingly concentrated for a year on the study of ways of improving student-faculty relations. The item analysis in the Faculty category, both in Parts I and II, suggested the specific kinds of activities which students wanted most and the concerns which disturbed them most. This pattern of response constituted a starting point for the faculty program.

OBSERVING CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The social environment in its changes from year to year may be studied. As the student bodies change, the kinds of activities, interests, and concerns are also subject to change in spite of the fact that there may be strong similarities between groups that ordinarily come to a particular college. An effort to identify these differences between freshmen of 1941 and 1942 and to relate the differences to educational implications was made at Talladega College by Hilda A. Davis, dean of women. After administering the P-S1 to the two groups (to the 1941 class in January 1942, and to the 1942 class in May 1943), she found the mean or average number of students who responded "A," "U," or "D" to each item. Then she compared the responses of the two groups. Since certain differences could of course be accounted for by chance, she used the critical ratio between the two means to identify those items which represented real differences between the two groups. In the tabulation which follows are listed some of the activities and concerns which differentiated between the personal-social development of 1941 and 1942 freshmen.

Some Activities which were more common among the 1942 class:

47. Going voluntarily to talk with a dean or some other student personnel officer. [men]*
52. Engaging in sports or games with members of the faculty. [men]
86. Discussing thoroughly with my faculty adviser the meaning of my test scores. [men and women]

Some Activities which were less common among the 1942 class:

93. Having good times on dates or with mixed groups in ways that are inexpensive. [women]
50. Being entertained by my adviser—at his home, on a picnic, etc. [men and women]
97. Enjoying friendly talks with hired campus workers—janitors, maids, watchman, etc. [men]

Some Concerns which were less common among the 1942 class:

162. Feeling that there is too much cliquishness in student activities. [men]
187. Failure to find good college friends of my own sex. [women]
199. Having a voice, mannerisms, or habits that impress fellow-students unfavorably. [men and women]

Some Concerns which were more common among the 1942 class:

109. Lack of informal social contacts with faculty members. [women]
130. Not having the skills or talents required to excel in extra-curricular activities. [men]

* After each item the sex group for whom the item differentiates is given. In most cases, where the item was more common as an activity for men in 1942 beyond reasonable doubt, it was more common also for women (and vice versa), but not with quite such statistical certainty.

Data like these may be useful in a number of ways. Changes in the college program thought to have some effect on the personal-social development of students may be partially evaluated. Did the effort to induce advisers to increase the number of informal social contacts with their counselees produce any change? Was the program of orientation successful in increasing student acquaintance, in breaking down social barriers, in improving social skills? Is there a difference in student-faculty participation in group games since the new emphasis on intramural sports was instituted? Questions like these have partial answers in the differences between the responses of students from one year to another.

Such data are useful in identifying the major needs of the group. The 1942 entering class felt the need for informal social contacts with faculty members, for the development of the skills required to excel in extra-class activities, and for the

ability to get introductions to persons they'd like to meet. These responses may suggest a variety of hypotheses to account for them. A change in faculty personnel, a new effort to personalize instruction, a new emphasis in some courses—such factors may be thought to account for differences in the responses of succeeding classes. The college can utilize the appropriate hypotheses in improving its program.

One further word seems necessary: since the differences between the classes of 1941 and 1942 are based on differences between the mean or average response by the two groups to an item, they are more likely to represent differences that cannot be accounted for by differences among the students so much as by differences in their social environment. The constituency of the classes remains about the same from year to year. Differences in their average response to a single item, therefore, would very likely be caused by differences in their experience on the campus.

Making Teaching More Effective

IDENTIFYING GROUP NEEDS RELATING TO COURSES

The use of P-S1 group results to improve the effectiveness of teaching may follow a number of procedures. One is to identify the group practices, interests, and concerns which have important implications for the subject matter of a course. Following are a few such items, selected at random. Each item was checked as an important or mild concern by 40 percent or more of the students in more than one college; some items were checked by more than 40 percent in each of ten colleges.

"106. Being self-conscious about noticeable physical defects." In a biology, health and hygiene, physiology, orientation, or psychology course, would not this predominant concern of half of the students affect the content of the course? Such a concern might imply a need for (1) health information, (2) understanding of the prevalence of physical defects, (3) insight into why people are sensitive about deficiencies, (4) skill in compensating for defects, (5) assurance that even though the defect may be irremediable, it need not snarl the victim's social life, and similar matters.

"130. Not having the skills or talents required to excel in

extra-curricular activities." Physical education departments, burdened with the necessity of providing a program for all students, not just the athletically minded minority, would recognize in this concern a need for teaching physical education and some types of social skills "from the ground up." Many students apparently are not skillful in playing games; the emphasis on vicarious thrills through bleacher participation adds to their disinclination to participate. The fact is that students—over half of them in several colleges—feel that they are just lacking in the required skill to participate at all.

IDENTIFYING PREOCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS

A second way of using P-S1 group results to improve the effectiveness of instruction is to identify the kinds of preoccupations relating to their personal-social life which students inevitably bring with them into the classroom. We know that learning is a function of the whole being and that what preoccupies the student—his emotional disturbances, his ill health, his lack of feeling at home in his surroundings—must certainly be recognized by teachers in their methods as well as in their selection of course content. Following are a number of items which were either an important or a mild concern of at least 40 percent of the students in several of the colleges:

- 122. Lacking confidence in myself in social situations.
- 111. Not knowing how to be entertaining on a date.
- 177. Not ever being able to take the lead in social activities. [girls especially]
- 191. Being uncertain of the etiquette required in social situations.
- 188. Hesitating to express my opinion in an organized group when something is being formally discussed.

Such uncertainty as expressed in these items is basically the result of social failures on dates, at parties, and in casual contacts on the campus. They show up in the classroom through diffidence in discussions, retiring behavior in the presence of the faculty member, and lack of freedom and ease in self-expression. The alert instructor will recognize the symptoms and provide experiences in the classroom where free discussion is encouraged, where blunders are not sarcastically received, where group projects eventuate in reduced tensions among participants, and where

the content of the course, when feasible, is related to this need for social success, self-confidence, and self-assertiveness.

114. Lack of sleep spoiling my enjoyment of social activities.
174. Being disillusioned by the attitudes and behavior of members of the opposite sex.
182. Faculty uninterested in me as an individual. [three colleges]

Such concerns as these, if they are deep-seated, may well result in hostility, apathy, negative attitudes, disinterest, or uncooperativeness. The disillusioned student easily becomes bitter or cynical, particularly if he is convinced that faculty members are not interested in him as an individual. The lethargic student whose sleeping time is inadequate for his physical need resists learning because learning takes energy. Particularly does he resist if his instructor tends to be overly energetic and impatient with those whose rate of energy expenditure is slower.

The assumption is made that a sensitive instructor who knows the extent to which concerns such as these are present in the minds of his students must inevitably be more effective in the classroom. It is as important to know the concerns of students as it is to know their IQ's.

SENSITIZING TEACHERS TO THEIR ROLE AS FRIENDS

A third area in which the P-S1 group results are useful in improving the effectiveness of teaching is in sensitizing instructors to the needs of students for personal-social relations with them as adults. Many of the items in the Faculty category relate to this need. Examples of such items to which 40 percent or more of the students in ten colleges responded "A" or "U" in Part II are the following:

107. Not finding opportunity to discuss problems with instructors outside of class.
109. Lack of informal social contacts with faculty members.
132. Feeling that I do not know my instructors at all well.
143. Being afraid of some instructors. [Girls only]
155. Instructor getting a false impression that I am indifferent or antagonistic.
159. Instructor failing to consider my other obligations outside his class.
118. Not talking with instructors because I might be considered an "apple polisher."

So much has already been said about the fact that learning is related intimately to such nonintellectual factors as the student's personal acquaintance with the teacher, the satisfactoriness of his social life, and the way he gets along with his parents, that it probably is not necessary here to do more than emphasize the importance to good teaching that the student should know and be known by the persons who are teaching him. This is the essence of individualized education. It is trying to achieve under conditions of modern mass education the ideal of Mark Hopkins on one end of the log and the student on the other. Such a viewpoint as this is stimulating instructors in the cooperating colleges to plan time to be given to individual conferences, to have evenings "at home" for students, to participate more extensively in student-faculty social affairs, and to wait for queries after class instead of rushing off.

WHO USES P-S1 GROUP RESULTS?

Various groups of faculty members have studied the P-S1 results with a number of purposes in mind. These groups sometimes represent committees that are interested in a particular phase of the college program, for example, the committee on extra-class activities, the committee on curriculum revision, or the student personnel council.

In one college an entire department under the leadership of its chairman explored the ways whereby they might improve not only the quality of their teaching, but also the adequacy of their curricular offerings. They found the P-S1 results helpful in identifying group needs which could be met through changes in classroom methods and through appropriate revision of the physiology and hygiene course; it represents a different emphasis in the counseling procedures followed by the individual faculty members.

A number of individuals with differing responsibilities have studied P-S1 group results. Such persons as directors of research, psychologists, deans, chairmen of committees, faculty counselors, and residence directors have found the description of personal-social relations of a group of students useful to them in a variety of ways.

Conclusion

Whatever the job being done and whoever does it, the use of group results from the inventory probably involves a number of closely related steps. These should not be viewed as sequential, but as occurring repeatedly and concurrently.

Step 1: Noting general characteristics: that is, the pattern of response for the group, the range and medians, and the like.

Step 2: Noting specific characteristics: A general impression, arrived at in step 1, should be tested by the study of the item-response. If students in a college have few personal-social activities with faculty members, desire more than they have, and indicate many concerns, what specific activities do they want? What specific concerns do they have?

Step 3: Developing hypotheses to account for the observations made in steps 1 and 2: In the illustration we have used, a deficiency in student-faculty relations might be caused by a number of factors—insufficient faculty time, the faculty members' conviction that such activities are undignified or irrelevant to educational objectives, lack of opportunity for students and faculty to get together socially. Developing such hypotheses to account for the condition described by the inventory is important in determining what measures may be taken to improve the social environment.

Step 4: Determining needs: Here judgments are made as to whether the description of the group coincides with what the college conceives to be acceptable group behavior. In making such judgments, the college applies certain criteria: for example, the college believes that frequent and casual friendly contacts between students and faculty are a valid basis for cooperative living in the college community. When the P-S1 group results indicate that student-faculty contacts in such a college are neither casual, informal, nor particularly friendly, a need in the social environment has been identified.

Step 5: Determining courses of action: Here the question is, What can we do about the need we have identified? The principles applicable to the job of determining courses of action for the individual are useful here too:

1. The specific steps to be taken should relate to the present status of the group.
2. The course of action should be specific.
3. The course of action should be applied immediately.
4. The course of action should be realistic and of intrinsic value.

Step 6: Exploring campus resources: Here the question is: What resources do we have to meet this need? What resources of time? of personnel? of physical facilities? of money? In one municipal college, students and faculty decided that enrichment of social life on the campus would follow the development of a snack bar and social room. No money was available for furnishings; but there was an unused room in the basement of the administration building. The student council undertook the project of raising funds. They did it through student subscription, sales from a doughnut stand, proceeds of a play. In a year, the snack bar and social room was equipped.

Step 7: Evaluating the courses of action taken: The question, "How well are we succeeding in doing what we set out to do?" involves continuous appraisal. Does the snack bar and social room improve the social environment? Does the introduction of "at home" nights at faculty members' homes improve student-faculty relations?

Many colleges have found it a feasible practice to plan for evaluation at the time a new program was adopted. It emphasizes the continuous necessity of evaluating and in all the steps of planning to focus attention upon the goal to be achieved.

Second Project: The Inventory of Counseling Relations¹⁰

Although student personnel officers provide many opportunities for educational development of students in group activities, a considerable part of student personnel work is done in the counseling situation. Counseling becomes one of the major means of

¹⁰The inventories developed by the Cooperative Study in General Education may be obtained from the Educational Testing Service, 15 Amsterdam Ave., New York 23, N.Y.

offering opportunities for educational experiences to the individual student, and it is one of the chief "teaching methods" utilized by personnel officers. It was natural, therefore, that personnel officers from the cooperating colleges would recognize a common concern related to student counseling. As they discussed various problems together, there emerged a common interest in identifying student needs particularly related to counseling, in describing the content and methods commonly employed in counseling, and particularly in evaluating the counseling program in relation to its contributions to general education. The success of the Self-Inventory of Personal-Social Relations suggested the possibility of developing an Inventory of Counseling Relations to serve these common interests.

The members of the committee analyzed counseling activities in terms of five major categories that relate to the content of the counseling interview. These categories are: (1) Developing Social Relations; (2) Developing Life-Goals; (3) Developing Vocational Orientation; (4) Developing an Understanding of the Body; (5) Developing an Ability to Succeed in College. In each of these categories the committee collected statements which describe experiences that college students may have in individual conversations with faculty members. Twenty statements were obtained to sample each category. For example, "Receiving from a faculty member the record of my test scores together with an explanation of how to read the record" was a statement describing an experience in a counseling situation classified under the category Developing Ability to Succeed in College. As another example, "Getting insights in conversation with a faculty member into what it means practically to be sensitive rather than insensitive to the feelings of others" is a statement of an experience in a counseling situation classified in the category Developing Social Relations.

In addition to the hundred items included under the five categories, fifteen items were obtained that represent five sets of three items each. Each set of items refers to the same idea, problem, or situation, the only difference among the three items of the set being the type of counseling implied by the wording of the item. Thus, as an example, the items in Set I read:

- A. Getting my course grade from a faculty member.
- B. In conversation with a faculty member analyzing the bases of my grade in his course in order to understand how to improve.
- C. Improving my work as a result of a discussion with a teacher about the bases of my grade in his course.

It will be seen that Type A items represent counseling wherein the student receives ideas or information from a faculty member in such a way that the flow of thought is largely from faculty member to student and rarely from student to faculty member. The emphasis in this type is upon an active faculty member and a passive student. Type B items represent counseling wherein the student and faculty member together make an analysis of a problem or situation, where they explore together various alternatives. These items are characterized by two-way communication. Type C items represent counseling wherein the student asserts that he has changed his behavior, attitude, or ideas partly or entirely as a result of the counseling experience. Type C is similar to Type B in the two-way communication but differs in that a decision was reached or some other change was effected.

To each of the 115 statements in the inventory the student is asked to respond in one of five possible ways, as follows: if he has had the experience, then he is to mark it as very satisfactory, fairly satisfactory, or only slightly satisfactory. If he has not had the experience, he is to indicate either that he would like to have it or would not care to have it. Hence, the inventory provides both a review of counseling experiences and student reactions to them.

Major Purposes of the Inventory

In constructing the inventory, the committee members and staff were guided by several purposes:

1. To describe the effectiveness of counseling relations between student and faculty member. The emphasis upon descriptions as opposed to "rating" grew out of the conviction that a "rating"—saying "this is good," "this is bad," according to "our" standard—would minimize the value of the appraisal. For example, a description of counseling relations says, in effect, "This is how students say they feel about such and such experiences." A college must decide for itself whether such feelings indicate good or bad coun-

seling, what accounts for the feeling, whether the feeling is justified, and so forth. Having seen how students feel as indicated by their responses to the inventory, the college is in a better position to decide whether this is the way the college wants them to feel about counseling experiences. In other words, the approach of *describing* rather than *rating* the counseling service enables the college to examine its personnel work more critically and with greater likelihood of developing ways of improving.

2. To describe counseling relations in terms of how they affect essential areas of living. The reasoning behind this purpose is something like this: (a) Personnel work, together with other parts of the total educational program, is primarily concerned with bringing about changes in student behavior. (b) These changes may be grouped into certain essential areas of living—changes of behavior in social relations, change of behavior with regard to vocational orientation, and the like. (c) Accordingly, the inventory lists experiences which relate specifically to these essential areas of living where changes (or developments) are desired as a result of counseling.

The value of this approach lies in the inventory's usefulness in any type of institution. Obviously, colleges differ in the specific techniques they use to change student behavior. For example, to provide suitable experience in the area of social relations, College A may use the technique of a freshman camp, whereas College B may rely upon student and student-faculty parties. The purposes of Colleges A and B may be identical, namely, to provide experiences which will enable students to develop socially. An inventory effort to appraise the effectiveness with which each technique achieved its purpose, however, would need to include items about both freshman camp and a program of social affairs. If only the program of parties were included, College A would suffer by comparison; if only freshman camp were included, College B would be unfairly appraised. Since the number and varieties of techniques are legion, any effort to appraise personnel work by evaluating the effectiveness of each technique used is thus manifestly cumbersome. The inventory, therefore, by concentrating upon how students feel about the experiences which they have in counseling relations, appraises the end-results in changed

behavior for which personnel techniques of various sorts are devised.

3. To describe counseling relations in such a way that the inventory scores are usable in working with individuals as well as with groups. The organization of the inventory in terms of essential areas of living provides scores which suggest (a) whether the student's counseling experiences have related to essential aspects of behavior, (b) how the students feel about these experiences, and (c) whether there is need for more close relationship between counseling and the job of living.

The pattern of these responses has many implications for individual counseling. Thus, one student has had extensive and satisfactory experience; another has had equally extensive experience, but he considers it predominantly unsatisfactory. A third student has had little experience but would like to have many experiences. Such differences considered in the light of hypotheses as to their cause afford insights into ways of improving counseling.

Using the Inventory

The inventory has been used both in counseling individuals and in evaluating the counseling program. For both purposes it is necessary to recognize first that a student's response on any item may have more than one interpretation. It may, on the one hand, be taken at face value or it may represent a concealed or confused reaction requiring further analysis. In the second place, in order to make adequate interpretations and particularly to distinguish between responses that may be taken at face value and those that may not, it is necessary to see the relationship among several responses; that is, it is important to look for patterns of responses. The methods of scoring and interpretation have been devised with these two considerations in mind.

In working with individual students, it helps to provide answers to such questions as: What are the attitudes of the student toward faculty members as counselors? What does the student expect from the counseling experience? What counseling experiences has he had? How does he feel about the experiences he has had? What counseling experiences does he want that he has not had? To what degree has he developed an integrated and broad-gauge reaction to his college experiences?

In using the inventory on a group basis for appraising the counseling program, two procedures have been followed by the colleges. In the first, the interpretation is initiated by raising questions about the counseling program, partial answers to which may be found in the inventory responses. In this procedure each of the 115 items of the inventory may be considered a test, a sample of a larger family of possible items. To the extent that a given item tests a particular aspect of the counseling program on a campus the responses of a group of students to that item may be useful test data. For example, one college had for some time attempted to inform counselors about sources of competent, adequate vocational information. Accordingly, the response of students to item 17, "Finding out in conversation with a faculty member how to secure information about various occupations which interest me," was of special interest. An analysis of the inventory results showed that two students out of three had talked about this topic and for the most part were well satisfied. They noted, too, that of the one-third of the students who had not talked about the topic, the majority would have liked to. The response to this item, considered as a test in itself, tended to inform the college of the extent to which counselors were doing a good job in making sources of occupational information available and the extent to which students were interested in what counselors had agreed needed doing. Thus, an examination of the summary of responses on each item can suggest answers to specific questions about a college program.

The second use of the group results involved studying patterns of responses. Several kinds of patterns are discernible. For example, the five categories provide a pattern. Differences among categories in range and balance of response suggest differences in emphasis and effectiveness in counseling. One college found that students were much more satisfied with their counseling experiences in the category of Developing Life-Goals than they were in Understanding the Body. They noted that students had very few experiences relating to vocational orientation and by far the largest number of experiences were in the category Succeeding in College. An examination of this pattern led the college to conclude that there was some distortion in emphasis that needed attention.

Another pattern of items relates to counseling method. The

inventory can be scored in terms of the three types of items mentioned earlier, and it is then possible to note the range of experiences being provided and the students' reaction to them in each of the three types: faculty active-student passive, two-way communication, and change effected. In this connection one college found that the large majority of the counseling experiences provided were of the faculty active-student passive type. Furthermore, a considerable majority of the students indicated greater satisfaction in Type A experiences than in those of Type B and Type C. These results were interpreted by the college as indicating an undesirable condition which led to giving greater attention to developing more Type B and Type C experiences, and helping students to take and to enjoy more responsibility in their own decisions.

These illustrations of patterns of scores represent only two of a number of possible patterns which can be obtained from the total inventory. It has been found that viewing the results of certain items in relation to others gives a more valid and more useful basis for interpretation.

The first use of the Inventory of Counseling Relations provides a basis for identifying needed improvements in the counseling program. At a later date the inventory may be readministered in order to discover how effective modifications of the program have been. It should also be clear that the inventory provides data not only helpful in planning and evaluating counseling, but also more broadly in relation to other aspects of general education. For example, an indication of needs of students for counseling in relation to an understanding of the body is relevant not only to the content of counseling but also the content of the program in natural sciences. Similarly, data obtained from the inventory regarding counseling experiences relating to general goals of life have implications for the humanities program as well as for counseling. This is just another illustration of the way in which data about students and about conditions in the college need to be understood and utilized by all staff members concerned.

Part III

**THE PRINCIPLES OF PERSONNEL
SERVICES**

Psychological Principles

By Sister Annette¹

AT THE BEGINNING of this study we were primarily concerned with personnel practices and techniques. We had no clearly defined principles by which to proceed nor did we, at that time, feel any need for them. We were interested chiefly in introducing better guidance practices and were scarcely aware of the fact that such practices must ultimately be based upon sound psychological theory.

Gradually, however, at workshop conferences and intercollege committee meetings some mutually acceptable psychological principles emerged. These principles, while never committed to writing, were nevertheless of considerable importance in the development of the study, and particularly in the construction and use of the inventories.

It is the purpose of this chapter to clarify the psychological assumptions upon which the inventories were constructed and to highlight some of the psychological considerations which we have found helpful in planning and evaluating personnel programs. The materials presented have grown out of the writer's experience with workshop committees, with committees within her own institution, and with other groups working on the problems of student personnel.² It would be a mistake, however, to assume that everyone in the cooperating colleges would agree to all of the propositions presented in this chapter. Indeed, no attempt has ever been made to obtain a consensus on this subject, nor is it likely that significant material would be obtained by such means. The content of the chapter is one person's interpretation of what

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² Particularly with the Commission on Teacher Education study of the American Council on Education.

the Study has revealed concerning the information which college teachers, not trained in psychology, need to know as background for effective personnel work. As one person's interpretation it is, of course, subject to personal bias, although great care has been exercised to keep out of the discussion controversial subjects upon which agreement could not easily be obtained.

We did not purpose, in writing this chapter, to present a point of view which is original with this Study, nor did we attempt to summarize the literature in the field. Our chief aim has been to relate theory to practice and research in a rather limited area by giving an overview of some of the important psychological principles (1) which relate to an understanding of the student, (2) which reveal the dynamics of human personality, (3) which throw light upon interpersonal relations on the college campus, and (4) which have an important bearing upon the way a program of general education should be administered in order to facilitate the growth of students.

Principles in Understanding the Student

THE THREE LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING

In the diagnosis of student problems there are various levels of understanding. There is, for example, the level at which we simply classify the student's problem by putting it into a convenient pigeonhole, as shown in the following excerpt:

Mary Jane repeatedly fails to hand in her papers on time although I have warned her that she is likely to fail on this account. When she is called to task, Mary Jane acknowledges her fault, but immediately starts to excuse herself. Her most frequent complaint is that she cannot study because her roommate has the radio turned on all the time. I am convinced that this is just a "rationalization" since her roommate makes the same complaint about her. In fact, I have had occasion to observe that it is usually Mary Jane herself who turns on the radio, and consequently I do not take her complaints very seriously.

The above excerpt illustrates the first level of understanding. Characteristic of this level is a lack of insight into causal relationships. It is important merely as a first step in the direction of understanding the real nature of the problem, but in itself it is psychologically insignificant.

In the second level of understanding there is at least a superficial attempt to determine cause-and-effect relations. Some typical diagnoses falling under this heading might read: "low grades because of poor ability"; or "has become a 'grind' as a compensation for being unpopular with other students." The following excerpt from a counselor's report is illustrative of this level:

John does not seem to associate very much with the boys of his class. Every time I see him he is alone. So far as I know, he has never attended a class meeting, gone to a school party, or eaten lunch with other students. Since he is supporting himself by working outside of school hours, perhaps he has not had time to become acquainted. Or perhaps the fact that he comes from a lower social class than the other boys prevents him from being accepted.

This second level of diagnosis is somewhat deeper than the first and serves, in many instances, as the basis for making environmental changes which will help the student to adjust. Nevertheless, it is well to remember that diagnoses of this type are often superficial and in the case of serious emotional maladjustment are likely to be wholly inadequate. There is a tendency, in this type of diagnosis, to oversimplify the problem and to attribute it to a single cause. Moreover, this type of diagnosis does not include an understanding of the most important factor in the case, namely, what the life-situation or pattern of behavior means to the student himself. For example, in the diagnosis "low grades because of poor ability" we still want to know what this situation means to the student—does he feel threatened with the loss of love from his parents, or with economic insecurity; or does he feel that lack of success in college is not very important anyway for success in life, or that he now has a weapon with which to force his parents to accept his own choice of an occupation or goal? Fortunately, the solution of most student problems does not require such a deep understanding, although the number that does call for such analysis has probably been greatly underestimated.

If we would really understand a student, we must know the goals around which his personality is organized, the values of life which to him are significant, and what people or institutions claim his loyalty and love. This is the third level of understanding. The value of any particular bit of information about a stu-

dent, therefore, lies in the degree to which it ties in with other facts about him and throws light upon the meaning of his life-situation in terms of what he values.

An understanding of such meaning in the life of the student cannot be procured as readily from objective tests, questionnaires, inventories, and the like, as from nonstandardized sources, such as interviews, creative art and literature, psychodramatics, and expressive and projective techniques. And the interpretation and use of these nonobjective sources of information in such a way as to promote the growth of a student presupposes a counselor with considerable psychological interest and insight and with a deep respect for human personality.

To understand a person then, we need to know much more than his personality traits and characteristic behavior. We need to know why these traits have been acquired and what ends his behavior is intended to serve. And only when we understand the motivation of a life and its "pattern of reactivity" can we formulate hypotheses concerning the ways in which an individual can and will change as a result of his collegiate experience. We too frequently assume, in speaking of college objectives, that all students possessing the requisite intelligence can with proper instruction attain them. Thus, such a college objective as "ability to think creatively and originally" is considered valid for all students regardless of their individual personality structures. And ideally, no doubt, this would be true. But unfortunately the student's goals and those of the college are not always the same. There are some students who by reason of early experiences have become so anxious and insecure in their outlook on life that they are afraid to do anything original or creative. They may unconsciously retreat from situations in which they must make their own decisions and accept the consequences of their own judgments. As a result they are happiest when working under an authoritarian teacher who tells them exactly what to do, what to read, and even what to think. They will not object to long assignments or hard work provided the instructor maps out exactly the course of activity which they are to pursue. Such students are more likely to specialize in a natural science than in a

literary or artistic field, and their highest grades are often in science, elementary language, or vocational subjects. They succeed better as a rule when the lecture system is used than they do under seminar or discussion group methods, and they are likely to become emotionally perturbed when "put on their own." Ruth Munroe and others have shown that there is a close relation between a student's personality "structure" and reaction "pattern" and his ability to profit by certain subjects in the curriculum and from certain methods of teaching. A deep understanding of a college student must, therefore, be based upon more than an analysis of his traits or upon a profile of test scores in specific areas. It must be based upon indexes of "flexibility" and "rigidity"; it must be grounded upon an understanding of the reasons why some students can be creative and free, while others, equally intelligent, as measured by tests, are unable to go beyond the simple accumulation of facts.

The most significant information for this deep understanding can be readily secured by the college teacher if he has eyes to see and ears to hear, although its interpretation will require the services of a clinical psychologist. It may be revealed, for example, every time a student hands in a paper, raises questions about an assignment, or gives reasons for liking or disliking academic subjects or methods of teaching. Some students, for example, are characteristically resistant to subject matter of emotional import. In the words of Ruth Munroe,

Some girls carefully avoid any subject matter too "hot" to handle. They cling to routine facts and shut their eyes tight against any knowledge which might disturb the precarious balance of their comfort. Or they live in a fairy-tale world from which dry and disagreeable bits of reality are rigidly excluded. . . . Range of interest, inquiry, and imagination is severely restricted by the need to steer clear of emotional implications.

A girl whose father had been criticized in the papers for anti-labor activities could not be persuaded to take economics at all. The subject "bored" her. Another, whose relations with her parents were unusually disturbed, dropped psychology after a few weeks because "there was nothing in it she did not already know."⁵

⁵ Ruth L. Munroe, *Teaching the Individual* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.)

A WORKING PRINCIPLE

Data of significance in the college situation can be collected only if the faculty has some consistent theory as to what is important in the life of a student and as to how counseling may affect his development. The necessity of determining motivational factors becomes especially important, since without such information the data collected have little meaning. The information to be gathered should be significant in terms of the college objectives; it should throw light upon aspects of student development which the college can, with the resources at its disposal, do something about; it should be determined by the kind of counseling procedure to be followed. This presupposes, of course, that the faculty has reached an agreement concerning the objectives of the college program. It should be noted here that at the beginning of the Study this problem of formulating objectives was one of major concern in most of the cooperating colleges. It presupposes also that the faculty members engaged in the personnel program are acquainted with all of the resources to be found in the college and that they have an adequate understanding of counseling procedures. An in-service program of faculty education is usually necessary before it is possible to obtain faculty agreement as to what is significant information about students, and what can and should be done to help students once such information has been obtained, in other words, before the concepts of growth which should dictate counseling procedures can be defined.

While it is true that some counseling is necessarily directive in nature and requires of the counselor a diagnosis and prescription, yet it is also true that such situations are relatively few as compared with situations calling for an artistic blending of directive and nondirective procedures. Clinical research into counseling procedures, whether in college, in industry, in social case work, or in child guidance, reveals unmistakably that a purely directive approach very infrequently promotes growth and may in fact retard it by preventing an individual from solving his own problems. On the other hand, the purely nondirective approach seems to be necessary chiefly when emotional stress is so

intense as to preclude a rational analysis of the situation. The normal, healthy student, temporarily disturbed, can usually draw profit from a counseling situation in which he is permitted to express his feelings without fear of censure. But if he is not neurotic, and the average student certainly is not, it is also possible to assist him by providing the information necessary for making rational choices. A great deal of the emotional tension of the college student is occasioned by his lack of experience and understanding. And if the counselor is convinced that the student is emotionally ready to accept his explanations and to look at the situation from a rational point of view, he should be ready to give the student the benefit of his more mature understanding. He must, however, carefully avoid "talking down" to the student, giving information before the student has asked for it, blocking the student in his attempts to express his own opinions and emotions, and providing explanations which might upset the student and so intensify his maladjustment.

Counseling in which directive and nondirective techniques are both used in their appropriate place we shall call, for want of a better term, "adaptive counseling." By adaptive counseling we mean counseling which aims to help the student to help himself. It is characterized by an adaptation of procedure to meet the particular needs of the student as they are revealed in the counseling interview. Hence, if the student is emotionally upset, he is encouraged to express his feelings and emotions. If he is in need of information and advice, and is emotionally as well as intellectually ready to receive it, it is given to him. In this sense, adaptive counseling is similar to teaching. It is dissimilar, however, to the therapeutic technique of nondirective counseling in that it does not usually involve such deep affective factors; it can be used when the student is not under emotional stress; and it makes an appeal to the student's intelligence if such an approach seems to be warranted. It does not involve the risks of purely nondirective counseling, nor does it necessarily set up a relationship incompatible with teaching.*

* See chap. ii for additional discussion of the differences between prescriptive (directive) and permissive (nondirective) counseling. .

Principles Which Explain the Dynamics of Human Personality

It is very difficult if not impossible to present a psychology of human motivation⁵ which takes cognizance of the various schools of thought in contemporary psychology. Hence, we limit our presentation to a few of the concepts which, in the experience of the cooperating colleges, have yielded valuable insights into the student's personality.

BASIC PERSONALITY NEEDS AND DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

All human beings in our culture appear to have certain basic needs, the satisfaction of which is necessary for normal and happy development. Some of these needs are physical; others are mental and spiritual.⁶ The distinction between these three categories of needs is a logical rather than a psychological one, for if the physical needs are not adequately met, there may be a stunting of mental and spiritual growth. And the accumulating literature on psychosomatic disease shows that deleterious physical effects may result from mental and spiritual deprivation. We do not, therefore, emphasize the distinction between these needs, since they are mutually interactive and are inextricably associated in their satisfaction or frustration with the personality as a whole.

Some of the basic human needs are insistent particularly during infancy and early childhood; others make their demands felt in later childhood, in adolescence, or in maturity. In this sense, the concept of need is similar to the concept of developmental task which we shall presently discuss. Some writers, in fact, identify the two, but we prefer to make a slight distinction.

⁵ It is probably impossible to present a theory of human motivation which will be acceptable to all of the cooperating colleges, since the subject is so intimately linked with religion and philosophy. The denominational colleges in the Study will undoubtedly think that the question has been very inadequately treated if natural factors alone are presented, and the writer concurs in this point of view. The nondenominational colleges, on the other hand, may reject most emphatically any suggestion that supernatural factors play a part, and, indeed, the denominational colleges themselves would find it difficult to reach any agreement upon this subject. For this reason we limit our discussion to natural factors alone.

⁶ Other writers summarize these needs under different headings. For example, Prescott distinguishes three classes of needs: physical, social, and ego-integrative needs. We have preferred to use terms which most people readily understand and thus simplify our task of definition.

Needs, in the sense in which we use the term, are relatively constant throughout the life-cycle. For example, everybody needs security from infancy to old age. The means, however, of attaining this security will vary at different age levels, and the infant attains it in a different way from the adolescent. The adequate means in our culture⁷ for meeting the needs of each stage of life constitute the developmental tasks peculiar to that age level.

Basic personality needs are not to be equated with wants, since wants are more superficially motivated and when frustrated do not necessarily damage the personality but may in fact be the occasion of growth. For example, most people in our culture want more material wealth than they possess. Yet the experience of poverty is often a significant factor in helping an individual to acquire a true personality. The frustration, however, of the more basic needs almost invariably sets up barriers to the development of personality by making it difficult for the person to acquire a realistic, consistent, and wholesome sense of values.

One basic human need is the need to be accepted as a unique individual, different from every other person in the world, yet sharing with others a common human nature. This is a need which is often misunderstood and one which is frequently thwarted by parents and teachers. A common misunderstanding of this need is to suppose that such acceptance means condoning misbehavior or encouraging the student in his eccentricities or in his unsocial conduct. This is a wholly erroneous notion. To accept each person as a unique individual means simply that we allow him to grow at his own rate and to develop his natural talents and abilities according to his idiomatic pattern. It means that we refrain from setting up an image of what we would like him to be and from bending our efforts to make him conform. It means, rather, that we assist him to understand himself, his possibilities and his limitations, and in the light of such understanding help him to select, of his own volition, appropriate goals and the means which are adequate for attaining them. Necessarily the student will need instruction as a basis for understanding himself and for coming into contact with authentic

⁷ Most of the cooperating colleges draw their student bodies predominantly from the middle class.

values, but in the last analysis the choices to be made must be made by the student himself. Parents who have preconceived ideas that their son should be a doctor, or a Phi Beta Kappa, or a social leader in college, and who exert moral pressure on him to conform to their image of him, may place serious obstacles in the way of his developing his potentialities and may precipitate a situation in which the student cannot develop a sense of personal worth. Teachers, too, may deprive a student of this necessary sense of personal worth by failing to recognize his dignity as a person and by making their acceptance of him depend upon his academic achievement alone.

A sense of personal worth and significance is a *conditio sine qua non* of successful adjustment. Its presence or absence in a particular student may be the result of many other factors besides those mentioned above. One of the most important of these factors is the feeling of belonging. Unless a person can feel that he is a valued member of the groups in which he participates, he will feel insignificant and will take refuge in defense mechanisms and compensations. The reasons why some students are rejected by their fellows are not always apparent to the faculty observer, and teachers who see students only in the classroom may be naïvely unaware that such a condition exists. Yet rejection by the group may be the clue to such varied behavior as chronic complaining, attention-getting behavior, habitual tardiness or absence, "A"-chasing, withdrawal and daydreaming, scholastic failure, violations of regulations and rules, and other kinds of delinquency and unsocial conduct. The way in which a student will react to this treatment will vary according to his temperament and background. Hence, no one behavior pattern can be considered symptomatic.

Another need, the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated, is that of receiving and giving affection. This is a need which is common to people of all ages, but is particularly insistent at those periods of life when difficult decisions and adjustments must be made. The bitterness of defeat and the anguish of failure become more bearable when they are shared with someone who loves and accepts one. Likewise, success and achievement become worth striving for if their attainment can be joyously shared with another person. In infancy and childhood, and even

up until late adolescence, this need should be met by the parents at least, although the teacher too, ideally, should by her friendliness and acceptance of the child provide an emotional undercurrent of security on the basis of which her classroom instruction can be assimilated. There is considerable evidence that if this need is not met in early childhood, particularly by the mother, there may remain with the individual throughout the entire life-cycle a subtle unhappiness in human relations occasioned by a sense of insecurity. It is also evident that the way in which a person meets a new and challenging situation, such as being away from home for the first time, having to meet new people, adjusting to the social stratification usually present on the college campus, or receiving lower grades than he has received before, is influenced to a considerable degree by his earlier experiences of security and insecurity as well as by his present opportunity of receiving and giving affection.

Another need related to the acquisition of a sense of personal worth is the need for a feeling of adequacy on the basis of satisfactory accomplishment. If this need is met very successfully, it may result in overcoming or preventing the personality defects which result from insecurity, but it can never serve as a completely satisfying compensation. There are eminently successful students on every college campus who outwardly appear happy and extroverted, but who are inwardly seething with emotional problems and are obsessed with anxiety and insecurity. Some of these people even become leaders, but their lives are unbalanced and lack significant purpose, and they characteristically sacrifice every other value in life to the acquisition of personal prestige and success.

Students also have a need to maintain in their lives a balance between rest and activity. Consequently, overstimulation as well as understimulation may be mentally unhealthy. Students differ just as much in energy output as in other physiologically conditioned traits and the same expenditure of time and effort should not be expected of everyone. Two students of equal intelligence and ability, both of whom are in perfect health, may both work up to their capacity and yet achieve quite different results. These differences do not indicate, necessarily, that one student is lazy and the other conscientious or that one lacks well-defined goals

while the other possesses them. They may simply indicate that the two students differ physiologically in metabolic rate, and, while differing in achievement, they may both be working up to capacity.

Counselors might well cultivate a sensitivity to indexes of energy output, since extreme deviations from the average indicate frequently a condition of serious maladjustment. Some students are continually borrowing on tomorrow's energy and are in a constant state of anxiety and tension, yet do not accomplish a great deal. Their lives are filled with unrelated activities, all of which seem to them equally important, and as a result they are constantly at war with time. Yet in spite of an enormous expenditure of energy the student may still feel frustrated and blocked. He may even succumb to a "nervous breakdown," the explanation of which is not as simple as that of "overwork." It is caused not merely by overwork, but by overwork which does not result in anything significant. It results, as a rule, from a feeling of futility, which in turn has been due to a lack of clearly defined or realistic goals. Such a neurosis might conceivably have been prevented by skillful counseling in which the student is given an opportunity to consolidate his varied activities and experiences into a significant and orderly whole, and in which the student constructs for himself a definite hierarchy of values. It is essential to the development of an integrated personality that there be but one central goal at any one time, yet many college students are unable to acquire this singleness of purpose, partly because of social factors existing on the campus, partly because of a disintegrated curriculum, and partly because of their own personal limitations.

In our culture there are, at every age level, certain "developmental tasks" which apparently must be solved satisfactorily before the individual can successfully attain to the next stage of maturity. For example, the preschool child has the developmental task of establishing a secure and wholesome relationship with its mother, and if this relationship is not established at the appropriate time in the life of the child, he will have greater difficulties than other people in forming warm and congenial relations with persons outside of his home, a condition which may persist throughout the entire life-cycle. Likewise, the preschool child

must accept his sex, and parents who either openly or subtly give their child the impression that they would be more pleased if he were of the opposite sex, may make it difficult, if not impossible, for him to meet this task. The great tragedy of this failure may not become apparent until the age of adolescence when it reveals itself in a repudiation of the masculine or feminine role with a resultant maladjustment in nearly all areas of life.

Similarly, there are developmental tasks which must be solved during the primary school years, as, for example, learning the rudiments of reading so that this skill can be used as a tool in subsequent learning. The long-run effect of failing to solve this task is to inhibit the child's development in almost every area of academic achievement. Some academic problems of the college student can be traced to this source.

Pubescence and adolescence bring in their wake a complicated and challenging array of developmental tasks, the successful solution of which is powerfully influenced by the way in which tasks appropriate to earlier age levels have been solved. In general, the best preparation for a happy adolescence is a happy childhood, and the best preparation for a happy maturity is a happy adolescence. Notable exceptions to this rule do occur, but when they occur they are outstandingly atypical. Many people have failed to solve the developmental tasks of adolescence by the time they have reached college, even though they are physiologically mature. Some students, for example, are still tied psychologically to their mothers' apron strings; they have not been able to substitute the healthy independence and self-determination characteristic of maturity for the comforting security of complete dependence characteristic of infancy and childhood. Often such people are superior students and are well accepted by the college faculty to whom they are, as a rule, deferential and submissive. It is evident, in a good many of such instances, that the student is using his teachers or counselors as parental substitutes and manifests toward them the same dependence as he does toward his parents. Other students, on the contrary, may still be psychologically at an early stage of adolescence in which, characteristically, there is a rejection of adult standards and of authority, regardless of how legitimate such authority may be. Unfortunately, the college years are rather late for going through this stage unscathed,

and the student who possesses this immature pattern is likely to be the bane not only of the adults whom he rejects, but of his fellow-students as well. Skillful nondirective counseling is almost always desirable for students subjected to emotional hazards of this kind.

Some students, too, arrive in college without having learned to be poised and at ease in their social relations with members of both their own and of the opposite sex, without having developed habits of appropriate grooming, and without having accepted emotionally such basic realities as the social position of their families and the assets and liabilities of their own appearance and of their abilities and talents. As a result, their entire first year in college may be predominantly focused on the solution of these tasks, often at the expense of their scholastic achievement. Teachers who are realistic in their attitude toward students are aware of the fact that academic achievement, important as it no doubt is, is not the whole of life. And, consequently, a student who devotes all of his energy to scholastic achievement may (although not inevitably) develop an unfortunate one-sidedness of outlook and become seriously unbalanced.

Another developmental task which becomes particularly insistent in late adolescence and early maturity is that of developing a consistent and all-embracing philosophy of life. Not that this philosophy will be fully developed during this period, since, of course, this is a major problem of the entire life-cycle, but at least the first steps must be taken in the proper direction at this period of life. Otherwise, significant achievement of any kind is impossible. Biographical and autobiographical literature, as well as adolescent diaries and creative works of various kinds, give overwhelming corroboration to our statement of the importance of meeting this developmental task successfully. Moreover, interviews with persons who were unsuccessful in their attempts to commit suicide have yielded in the majority of cases, the explanation: "Life has no meaning for me any more."¹ In the words of Walter Lippmann:

... above all the necessities of human nature, above the satisfaction

¹ Else Frankel, "Studies in Biographical Psychology," *Character and Personality*, V (Sept. 1938), 14.

of any other need, above hunger, love, pleasure, fame—even life itself—what a man most needs is the conviction that he is contained within the discipline of an ordered existence. Man can bear anything except a sense of his own utter demoralization. As long as he has the support of a discipline which is rational and transcends his immediate promptings, he will endure discomfort, pain and danger. That is why men with faith can endure martyrdom while men without it feel stricken when they are not invited to dinner.⁹

The solution of this problem becomes particularly difficult for students when the several teachers with whom they are studying vary radically in their religious beliefs and philosophies of life, or when the objectives and the philosophy of the college community are opposed to those of their parents and of their home communities. Serious problems in this area frequently call for very skillful nondirective counseling as well as for instruction and advice.

THE CAUSES OF MALADJUSTMENT

Probably the most effective way of attacking any problem of student maladjustment is to start with the question: What needs does this student have which are not being met? An examination of the available data will usually yield some likely hypotheses regarding this problem, and these hypotheses, in turn, will suggest possible courses of action for treating the maladjustment. In general, the means that can be employed in attacking such problems are two in number, namely, (1) environmental therapy and (2) psychotherapy. In environmental therapy we try to change the situation in such a way as to eliminate the frustration, as, for example, by finding a different place for a student to live; helping teachers, parents, or classmates to treat the student with more consideration; or providing greater opportunities for social participation. In psychotherapy, on the other hand, we give the student personal help in facing and accepting the unhappy aspects of his life and thus enable him to develop more wholesome attitudes. Often the successful treatment of a maladjustment will require both kinds of therapy.

Ideally, of course, the most effective therapy is preventive

⁹Walter Lippmann, "Man's Image of Man," *Commonweal*, XXXV (Feb. 13, 1942), 407-9.

in nature. By studying the kinds of maladjustments most common among students, a college can sometimes modify its program or provide resources which will decrease the number of such problems.

Principles in Interpersonal Relations on the College Campus

FACULTY ATTITUDES

The most important psychological aspect of the college program of personnel is the attitude which is developed by administration and faculty as a basis for governing their relations with students. Nothing is so fundamental and basic; and the success or failure of the entire program hangs on the answer to this one question: Do the administration and faculty see the student as a human being possessing human dignity and, consequently, deserving of their profound respect?

The answer to this question is of crucial importance, since unless the faculty respect their students as persons, no program of personnel, however well organized, can have any hope of success. Students react to subtle clues which we inadvertently give them and thus come to know our attitudes and feelings. *What we say is not as important as how we say it.* And this "how" is to a considerable extent the result of attitudes and feelings.

STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONS

All interpersonal relations are influenced by multiple factors, the interactions of which are very complex and the separate elements of which cannot be isolated in any particular concrete case. Nevertheless, an awareness of these elements may be the means of attaining insight into the total situation as it exists in an individual case. Among the most important of these factors as they operate in the lives of both teachers and students are the following: personality "type"; satisfaction or frustration of basic human needs; social class, caste, or culture pattern in which the individuals have grown up; the demands of the various subcultures to which they belong at the present time; and philosophy of life and sense of values. An example of the operation of each

of these factors will suggest the extent of their influence upon student-faculty relations.

By personality type we do not mean to imply that either students or teachers can be pigeonholed into definite, distinct, non-overlapping classes; we refer rather to characteristic patterns of meeting the situations of life. Emotional as well as intellectual factors play a part in the establishment of such patterns. There are some teachers, for example, who characteristically wear a mask of academic respectability behind which they hide their limitations and failures. Such teachers may derive excessive satisfaction from the authority they wield over their young charges in the classroom, a satisfaction which compensates for frustrations in areas of life in which they are less proficient. Thus, classroom mechanics, school routine, fidelity to assignments, and arbitrary rules assume an importance all out of proportion to their educative value. Yet the teacher apparently must insist on enforcing these rules as though they were ends in themselves since they eliminate the necessity of facing his students at a level at which he feels insecure. As Plant has pointed out, "The teacher who protects an anemic personality with the armor that *c-a-t* is *cat* or that $2 + 2$ equals *4*, can ill afford that you take that covering from him."¹⁰ And Young presents us with an example of the kind of limitation which the teacher may be covering up when he says that the "teacher's own frustration at her inferior social status may cause her unconsciously to find some compensation in strict rules and constant demands for obedience." And while Plant and Young are describing elementary school teachers, the same psychological factors operate at the college level.

The frustration of any basic human need, such as the need for a sense of personal worth, may lead a teacher to adopt compensatory behavior. These compensations may take such widely varied forms as those of seeking slavishly for popularity, using sarcastic and bitter criticism, and adopting an aloof or haughty manner in dealing with students. Often the faculty member has no insight into his unconscious motivation and is at a loss to understand why his students react toward him the way they do. He may be

¹⁰ James S. Plant, "The Psychiatrist Looks at Today's School Child," *Educational Record*, Supplement No. 15, XXIII (1942), 73.

a man with a stern sense of duty and one who is consciously striving to help his students in every possible way. But if he does not genuinely like his students, if he does not really believe that they are entitled to his affection and respect, his students will sense it. In the words of Plant:

Language of the emotional life is different from the language of the intellectual life. In emotional interchanges our language is that of psychomotor tensions. These latter are the *way* we talk, the *way* we walk--those fine muscular changes that defy verbal expression. You cannot tell lies in the emotional field. If the teacher does not like her work or her pupils they know it. We teach what we know, whereas we show what we feel—we do not impatiently teach patience, nor anxiously teach courage; nor falteringly call for faith.¹¹

Teachers as well as students differ in their basic personality structure, and it is just as unrealistic to expect all teachers to conform to the same pattern as it is to expect all students to be alike. There are teachers who promote the growth of their students admirably through lectures, but are not nearly as successful in conducting discussions. There are some who open for their students new worlds of knowledge and of values through their carefully organized course syllabi and who, by means of well-presented lectures, inspire their students with a love of scholarship and a zeal to advance it. The same teacher, however, may feel frustrated in a counseling situation because it requires a different type of student-faculty relation in which the adult refrains from taking the initiative and must adapt his responses to the interests and needs of a younger person.

Sometimes teachers and students fail to understand each other because they belong to different social classes or castes or because they have grown up in different cultural settings. The person who has been reared in a middle-class home is likely to have a very different pattern of motivation from the one who has lived in a lower-class home. The hierarchy of values, the ways in which needs are satisfied, the types of behavior which are rewarded by the group vary considerably from one social class or from one culture to another.

In addition to the over-all culture pattern in which the individual is immersed, there are various subcultures which influence

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

his choices and behavior. These subcultures often make conflicting demands and the young person has to decide which ones he will satisfy and which ones he will reject. For example, he may want to please his parents by coming in early at night, and at the same time satisfy the demands of his peers by staying out late. He may want to study and read good books, but if his peer group disapproves of such study and reading, he may have to forego them for the sake of "belongingness."

Another factor which influences student-faculty relations is the degree of prestige which each one enjoys with the various subcultures to which he belongs. Social psychologists have long recognized that there is no such thing as equality of status where social groups are concerned. In every classroom, in every fraternity house, in every faculty gathering or club, certain persons will inevitably stand out as having above average or exceptional prestige with the group. Other persons, on the contrary, are conspicuous because of the negative attitudes which they engender. Some persons, too, make very little impression on the group and have the appearance of being "in the group but not of it." And, of course, the majority of people fall in between these several categories and represent neither the extremes of acceptability nor of rejection. The qualities, traits, or patterns of behavior which condition such status will vary according to the group in question, although people with exceptionally high energy levels are almost always to be found at the extremes of acceptance or rejection.

A valuable technique for determining group status is the sociometric questionnaire in which the members of a group are given an opportunity to choose, amongst all present, those individuals with whom they would most like to work, to share a room, to take a vacation, to eat, to relax, and the like. The results of such sociometric studies show unmistakably that "overchosen" or "underchosen" people in all social groups have certain characteristics in common. Helen Hall Jennings has demonstrated that such overchosen individuals are not popular in any superficial sense, but have prestige with the group because "they act in behalf of the others with a sensitivity of response which does not characterize the average individual in the community," and because they are unusually well oriented to the group situation. Underchosen or isolated individuals, on the contrary, "not only

fail to contribute constructively to the group, but hinder the activities undertaken by other members,"¹² and are likely to "externalize" their private worries and feelings of irritability.

An awareness of the status position of students in their peer groups is of value to the teacher, not only in working with individual students, but also in dealing with groups as groups. It is valuable to know, for example, that the "star of attraction" in a given group, while not necessarily the most intelligent member, is nevertheless the person whose suggestions are listened to and acted upon. He is, moreover, a student who is in a good position to help more isolated classmates into some kind of group participation, since his own status and prestige are assured. He does not run the risk, as less well accepted students might, of losing his prestige by associating with students considered nonacceptable by his peers. If the faculty can secure his cooperation and good will, they will have taken an important step toward breaking down any dual culture pattern that might exist upon the campus.

Often a student who is rejected by his peer group will seek solace by cultivating the intimate friendship of a faculty member. To facilitate the development of this friendship, he may temporarily develop an adult interest in books, politics, or cultural subjects, which are not the center of interest in his own peer groups as they are in the faculty group. The teacher, in this instance, may do a great deal to increase the student's sense of security by responding to his friendly advances, provided he does not encourage the student to reject the company or the standards of his equals. Acceptance by faculty members, important as it is in the development of personality, is never an adequate substitute for acceptance by one's peers.

Faculty members, too, occasionally compensate for lack of prestige with their colleagues by cultivating relations with their students which are not conducive to personal growth. Commonly they encourage a kind of dependence in students which prolongs their psychological adolescence by making it unnecessary for them to think through their own problems or to make their own choices. There are always some students on every college campus

¹² H. H. Jennings, "Leadership—A Dynamic Redefinition," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVII (March 1944), 431-33.

who enjoy the kind of security provided by the "teacher knows best" sort of person.

And, lastly, student-faculty relations are influenced by differences in their religious backgrounds and in their philosophies of life. For example, a student who comes from a home in which the profit motive rules supreme is often completely mystified by a faculty member who holds a brief for disinterested scholarship. Such a student needs to be convinced that what he is learning has a dollars-and-cents value and will contribute in some way to worldly success. On the other hand, a student from a deeply religious home may experience conflict in a college whose faculty does not accept or openly ridicules his religious beliefs.

TEACHING AND COUNSELING—SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

We have already distinguished between directive and nondirective counseling and have expressed the opinion that an artistic blending of the two is probably the best procedure in most college counseling situations. The purely directive approach, we believe, has a place only in some of the specialized guidance services, as, for example, in the health service. The purely nondirective (permissive) approach, on the other hand, should probably be limited, for the most part, to the psychological clinic since it involves risks with which the layman cannot be expected to cope. These risks result, not from the fact that no direction is given, but from the fact that the emotions released in such counseling situations must be handled with extraordinary skill. Adequate training for such counseling must include not merely reading and study, but also considerable clinical experience. While it will not be possible to develop this point fully, we want to make it clear at least that this technique as well as other psychotherapeutical techniques are comparable in a sense to the practice of surgery. The layman, it is true, may be able to understand what is involved in the performance of an operation. He may, in an emergency, perform one himself. But as a rule we prefer to be operated upon by a man who has served his internship in an accredited hospital and who knows what to do when something goes wrong.

Carl Rogers has expressed the opinion that nondirective coun-

seling is psychologically similar to play therapy as used with children. If this is true, we should probably be very careful to limit its use to professional psychologists and psychiatrists. The clinical literature gives unmistakable evidence that play therapy in the hands of a competent psychiatrist may be a potent means of treating emotional problems. But the technique is not uniformly successful. And when it fails, great harm may be done if the psychiatrist is not prepared to use alternative procedures. There is some evidence, for example, that in the hands of an unskilled person play therapy may have the same effect upon a child as the administration of dope.

In the light of the above discussion it should now be clear that the possession of teaching abilities and skills does not of itself qualify a person for psychotherapeutical counseling. Nor is a knowledge of psychology, apart from clinical experience, a sufficient qualification for the practice of psychotherapy. We do not mean to imply, however, that a knowledge of psychotherapy is of no value to the teacher-counselor. On the contrary, it may be extremely valuable to the teacher-counselor from at least three points of view: (1) it may give him an appreciation of what he can do to help prevent emotional maladjustment, (2) it may help him to recognize and to some extent diagnose the seriousness of a student's problem, and (3) it may enable him to recommend students in need of psychotherapy to a psychological clinic.

Teaching also differs from counseling in that it usually takes place in a group setting. Teachers do not need to be told that the problem of influencing students in groups is different from that of influencing them as individuals in a person-to-person relationship. Indeed, it is the awareness of this problem which often leads teachers to think that psychologists and educational theorists are impractical when they insist that the teacher individualize instruction and focus his attention upon the needs of the individual student. Teachers know that students are different, but they also know that whatever they do to influence a given individual will inevitably have its effects upon everyone in the group, including the teacher himself. They should also realize that their own status in the group is not just the result of their own personalities, but of the subtle interactions of all of the personalities in the

group, and that success in teaching is intimately related to the group psychological atmosphere. The teacher who is most effective in stimulating the total personality growth of students seems to be the one who, among other things, can establish himself as the central person with a minimum of psychological discomfort to the group.

Fritz Redl¹³ has shown that there are various ways in which the teacher may establish himself as the central person in the group and that some of these ways promote student growth in much more wholesome ways than do others. He also has shown that some techniques—for example, those of the “tyrant”—may have very unfortunate effects upon personality growth. In spite of the fact that the tyrant succeeds in getting students to do their work, he is also setting up a classroom situation in which the students develop hostility toward each other. Lewin, Lippitt, and White¹⁴ have also demonstrated that the attitudes of children toward each other are powerfully influenced by the role which the teacher adopts in the group situation. Their research suggests that a democratic classroom atmosphere is the one most conducive to genuine personality growth.

Apart from the fact that the group situation precipitates problems not encountered in the personal interview, there are other important psychological differences between teaching and non-directive counseling. In the first place, successful teaching calls for an adult who “knows the answers” and, in the case of immature students, it calls for the assignment of definite work to be done. College teaching is necessarily authoritarian in some respects. For example, a college is founded for certain socially approved purposes. The community supports the college because it acknowledges the significance of these purposes. A student is free to attend this college or not, but as long as he is enrolled in the college he is not free to pursue goals which are incompatible or

¹³ Redl, “Group Psychological Problems in Classroom Teaching,” materials presented to members of the Collaboration Center, Dec. 13, 1939, Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education. (Unpublished manuscript.)

¹⁴ K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, “Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created ‘Social Climates,’” *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (1939), 271-99.

opposed to those of the college. The college teacher owes it to the community to see that students understand the college objectives and make a reasonable effort to attain them. In this way, the teacher is authoritarian and directive without, however, taking away from the student his freedom of choice. Moreover, the teacher has (theoretically, at least) been selected because he represents in his person the objectives of the college. His own greater maturity, education, and competency give him a prestige with students which he cannot forego. Then, too, it is unreasonable to expect a teacher who is an authority in a given field to assume that the students' opinion is as good as his own.

Highly successful teachers, it appears, inspire their students to identify with them in the sense of wanting to be as much like them as possible. They become, in the minds of their students, the ideal toward which they are striving. And the student, in trying to become like his teacher will accept assignments and difficult tasks and will be willing to take criticism, no matter how painful. This willingness to take criticism is very important because learning does not seem to take place unless errors and mistakes and personal limitations are pointed out to the student and accepted by him.

Nondirective counseling, on the other hand, is not authoritarian. It proceeds on the assumption that the only one whose opinion is valid is the student, since his growth will proceed only in proportion to his ability to make independent choices. The counselor is careful to keep his own ideas out of the situation and refrains from passing judgment. The student does not identify with the counselor in the sense of accepting his values or ideals, but uses the counseling situation as a means of releasing his emotional tensions and of clarifying his own ideas. The counseling interview is centered on the student alone and does not involve the give-and-take which characterizes friendly teacher-student relations. It is a temporary relationship and normally comes to an end when the student is able to meet his problems independently.¹⁵ The teacher-student relation on the other hand, is ideally a

¹⁵ The whole theory and practice of nondirective counseling has been excellently presented in Carl R. Rogers' book, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943).

relation of mutual interest which, theoretically at least, may be relatively permanent.

In the light of the differences which exist between teaching and nondirective counseling and between the different kinds of counseling, we are inclined to question the popular cliché: Every teacher should be a counselor. It would probably be better to say: Every teacher should be willing, as the occasion arises, to be a friendly guide, and stress this objective as the basis of student-faculty relations. Necessarily teachers will be called upon, because of their greater maturity and experience, to advise students in difficulty and to counsel them in their problems, but this relationship does not make as great demands upon the teacher, already loaded with a heavy program, as does a program of clinical counseling. Indeed, nondirective counseling and psychotherapy make even greater demands upon time and energy than does teaching, and it would seem unwise, from a mental health point of view alone, to place too many burdens upon the teacher in addition to his already full program. Moreover, we have already indicated that a clinical and a teaching relationship with the same student is psychologically impossible.

Friendly relations in which teachers and students take a mutual interest in each other are probably ideal, and while such contacts may provide students with a feeling of belonging and a sense of personal worth, and thus engender a wholesome classroom atmosphere conducive to learning, they make it possible also for the student to "open" his personality and to give himself wholeheartedly to the values for which the school stands. Such identification with faculty and administration is thus a powerful preventive of school problems and is at the same time a very great incentive to the student to "stretch" himself to the stature of his new acquaintances.

While the ideal relationship between students and faculty is a friendly rather than a psychotherapeutical one, it is, nevertheless, true that the average teacher can profit greatly by a knowledge of human motivation and of psychotherapeutic techniques. Yet his contribution to the students' growth will usually be facilitated if he treats them as he would like to be treated himself, as intelligent human beings capable of reasoning and of making their

own choices, rather than assuming (as the psychotherapist must frequently assume in the case of emotionally disturbed students) that they are characteristically motivated by unconscious factors.

Principles in Administration

Although it is true that human beings are almost infinitely adaptable, it is also true that their basic attitudes toward life and toward other people do not change considerably once they have reached maturity. It is even possible, in the majority of cases, to tell as early as the end of the adolescent growth cycle, whether an individual will tend, in his later years, to be warm and outgoing toward other people, or whether he will tend to be cold and introverted. It is also possible to predict, barring some unusual circumstance, whether he will tend predominantly to look at life in a positive manner as a series of challenges, or in a negative manner as a series of evils to be avoided; and since this is true, programs of in-service education are necessarily limited in their effects. Such programs appear to be most significant when the faculty members are already favorably disposed by reason of temperament or experience to be personnel-minded. But the experience of the cooperating colleges has shown unmistakably that some teachers are temperamentally incapable of counseling students effectively in an adaptive or nondirective capacity, regardless of administrative encouragement or pressure.

FACULTY STATUS

The need for a sense of personal worth is as great for the college teacher as it is for the student, although the means of satisfying this need may be different for the two. Administratively, this need is satisfied when the services rendered by the faculty member to the college are given adequate recognition in the form of appropriate symbols of success, such as collegiate rank, an increase in salary, or by expressions of appreciation on the part of the administrators. Excellent teaching and counseling may, of course, go on, even in the absence of such recognition, but they take place in spite of, rather than because of, the administrative policy.

In the typical college community faculty status is more directly

the result of contributions to the profession, particularly in the form of published research, than the result of superior teaching and counseling. True, most college administrators give lip-service at least to the notion that the first purpose of the college should be the personal growth of its students. But individual contributions to such student growth are likely to pass unnoticed and unrewarded, partly because they are hard to evaluate, partly because of a one-sided emphasis on the part of accrediting agencies, and partly because of the value-pattern of many college administrators. Moreover, the pressure to publish research is greatest for the young college teacher who has not yet established himself in his profession and at the time when he is most likely to have his heaviest teaching load. Thus, he is forced to work against time, and, however much he might like to know and help his students personally, he is forced to relinquish such contacts in the interests of his professional advancement. Unless administrators recognize and remove conflicts of this sort, the personnel program is likely to function under very serious handicaps or to function only under coercion.

ADMISSIONS POLICY

Probably no college should admit a student who does not have a reasonable chance to succeed in its program without making it clear to the student that he runs a risk of failure. The effect of failure may be very devastating to personality growth, even when it increases self-knowledge. Moreover, colleges differ in the resources they have for meeting the needs of particular students, and in some instances it is evident before the student has matriculated that the particular college that he is entering is not the best one for him. Under such circumstances the college should be honest with the student and face with him the issues involved. In this way subsequent maladjustments can sometimes be prevented.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CAMPUS

Administrative policies and practices should be dictated by the long-run effect which they have on the development of the stu-

dents' personalities rather than upon immediate expediency and convenience. In some colleges, for example, social life becomes so structured, either by reason of a *laissez faire* policy or by actual encouragement of college administrators, that the educational and social values for which the college stands are completely negated. Overemphasis upon loyalty to the different groups of which he is a member, regardless of the issues involved or of the interests of students outside of his group, may distort a student's sense of values. Loyalty, like patriotism, is a virtue only when it is grounded upon reasonable moral principles. It must not be cultivated in such a way that competition rather than cooperation prevails among the several social groups on the campus. In some respects the school community is a miniature of the world outside, and the life which students live within the school community is a preparation for this larger world. If we would adequately prepare our students for intelligent participation in world affairs, we must provide in college a social setting conducive to cooperation and mutual understanding among different clubs, fraternities, classes, and departments. We must avoid the type of motivation which leads a student to seek advantages for his own group alone while ignoring the claims of other groups whose welfare is not so intimately linked up with his own. We must also avoid a social setting in which choices are habitually made not upon the basis of the issues involved but upon emotions and feelings alone. Margaret Mead has demonstrated that the social pattern of some colleges is similar to that which exists among certain primitive cultures, notably that of Iatmul people. She writes:

If you wish to avoid the Iatmul type of integration and to avoid turning out habitual "yes men" or habitual "protestors," who only seek to maintain a consistent type of emotional behavior regardless of issues, then it is necessary to avoid trying to run a school or college in terms of overlapping groups—putting class loyalty against house loyalty, against club loyalty, regardless of the issues involved. Such a set-up, although it may keep the school community from splitting wide open, does not produce the type of democratic citizen who is capable of choosing among issues; it simply produces pressure-group methods.¹⁸

¹⁸ Margaret Mead, "Administrative Contributions to Democratic Character Formation at the Adolescent Level," *National Association of Deans of Women Journal*, IV (Jan. 1941), 51-57.

Physiological Principles

By *Florence I. Mahoney, M.D.*¹

CLOSELY RELATED to the psychological principles of human behavior, which were discussed in the previous chapter, are biological facts and principles which relate to human growth and development. The counselor, the teacher, the director of a residence hall, and the administrator in charge of curriculum must all have some knowledge of how physical development occurs in the student. They should know the meaning to human personality development of such physiological conditions as being very fat or having a high rate of energy output, and also how the program of general education may effectively improve the ability of students to live healthfully. Such knowledge cannot, within the limits of this chapter, be adequately presented in detail; however, the basic principles of physical development, illustrated at some length, may provide the complement to psychological principles which are essential to an understanding of student behavior. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is not to present a compendium of hygiene materials, but, rather, to state succinctly the major principles regarding physical growth and development which should be part of the working knowledge of teachers, counselors, and students.

Principle 1: The Human Body Is a Durable Machine

A first, general principle is that the human body is a durable machine which operates adequately in spite of disease and severe strains. A broad margin of safety allows for a good deal of fluctuation in rest, activity, intake, and output. When one learns some-

¹ Dr. Mahoney was formerly physician at Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. She is now with the Veterans Administration in Memphis as chief, Physical Medicine Rehabilitation Service.

thing of how fearfully and wonderfully the human body is made, one understands better how well it withstands the ups and downs of life. Cannon in *The Wisdom of the Body*² tells the layman how effectively the body works to maintain its own constancy and even to cure disease, when given a chance. If one will but live fairly regularly, sleep an adequate amount, eat the proper foods, and exercise wisely, the body will usually regulate itself. Indeed, if this were not so, man would long ago have been extinct.

THE MARGIN OF SAFETY

One of the interesting wonders of the human body is the fact that its organs were planned with a wide margin of safety, so that we have stores of carbohydrate, fat, and protein set aside for use when food is not available. It is for this reason that an individual can starve for a considerable period of time without dying, provided he gets water. The blood sugar usually is kept to a level of 90 to 100 milligrams percent, but the body could get along with 75 or 70 percent, or lower, without producing disagreeable symptoms. The normal concentration of blood calcium is almost twice as high as it needs to be. Normal systolic blood pressure is about 110-20 millimeters of mercury, but may drop about one-third before reaching a level at which the circulatory system works inefficiently to propel the blood to the tissues. Blood pressure quickly comes back to normal after a loss of 30 to 40 percent of its volume, and new cells and plasma are formed very rapidly.

That we find a great margin of safety in the circulatory system is seen in certain diseases of the lung in which the oxygen supply is cut off in the involved area. In severe cases of pneumonia one lung may become completely congested and as solid as the liver without seriously interfering with the supply of oxygen to the body or with carrying away carbon dioxide in the other lung. Collapse of the lung, as it is used in the treatment of tuberculosis, can be done without serious difficulty to the patient. Not only do we have more lung tissue than we ordinarily need, but also a larger amount of oxygen is transported from the lungs to the tissues than is usually used.

² W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1932).

Other organs of the body such as the kidneys, the adrenal glands, and the thyroid gland are paired, and life will go on if one is damaged. Most of the single organs are larger than is needed, so that if part of an organ is diseased, life will not be affected. Four-fifths of the thyroid gland can be removed without the appearance of symptoms of hypothyroidism, and four-fifths of the pancreas can be extirpated without ill effects. The liver, which has many important functions in regulating body activities, is a busy and versatile organ, yet three-fourths of it can be removed without serious interference with its function.

The ovaries are paired, and a woman can function properly and even have children when only part of one ovary is left. Ovaries are removed only when diseased, and even then a surgeon does not remove all of both ovaries except when absolutely necessary.

We have some organs without which we can get along entirely; for example, the stomach, which is a storage place for food. The digestion which takes place there can be carried on elsewhere if necessary. The small intestine is longer than is essential for life; about ten feet can be removed without considerable ill effects.

NATURAL DEFENSES AGAINST DISEASE

The body has also natural defenses for protection against disease. The cough and sneeze are protective reflexes, which come into play when one swallows something the wrong way or gets a foreign particle in the nose. The eye shuts rapidly against a foreign body, such as dust, and if by chance a foreign particle gets into the eye, pain and the flow of tears and winking are mechanically arranged to remove it.

The body's reaction to disease is remarkable, and often the very sign of disease which alarms the patient is fighting the malady. Fever and fast pulse rate are the normal responses to the invasion of bacteria. Certain diseases elicit a given pattern or response in a patient who succumbs to the germs present. Given time and good nursing care, most patients recover from most diseases in the usual length of time.

Specific resistance to infectious diseases depends upon the presence in the individual of antibodies or specific protective substances which destroy a given germ or its poisonous products.

The body will produce these antibodies when it is stimulated to do so by the presence of disease-producing bacteria or their toxins if they are not present in too great numbers. This results when a person has a disease or is vaccinated or inoculated for a disease. Modern medicine advocates the prevention of disease by vaccination or inoculation when possible, and most schools and colleges now require or at least suggest that before entrance students should be vaccinated for smallpox and, in a fewer number of schools, inoculated for typhoid fever.

Some diseases can be prevented only by such measures as case-finding surveys among apparently healthy people. Tuberculosis, which is a disease to which those of college age are most susceptible, is perhaps the outstanding example. Such preventive measures are being carried on courageously in many of our colleges and public health departments in spite of little backing from the general public. The principle of the case-finding technique is to examine all the people who matriculate in a college or university, or all the workers in a factory or large store, as the case may be, and thus find the early cases who are not yet infectious, as well as any who might be moderately or far advanced, but have not been to a physician for examination. These cases are removed from the group so that they cannot infect others and can be brought under proper treatment. Through case-finding programs, repeated annually, colleges have shown that the incidence of tuberculosis in the schools decreases, since the source of infection is removed. These programs are sponsored by the Tuberculosis Committee of the American Student Health Association and American Tuberculosis Association.³ In most cases tuberculin testing is done, preferably by a two-dose method, in order to save X-rays. Many colleges cannot afford to X-ray all their students and by screening out all those who are tuberculin negative only a few need spend the money for an X-ray. A few colleges X-ray all students and employees as well. Only a very small number carry the program to the faculty, not because it is

³ C. E. Lyght, "Tuberculosis," *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the American Student Health Association* (Minneapolis, Minn.: J. Lancet, 1941); Lyght, "Tuberculosis in College Students: A Second Five-Year Review," *American Review of Tuberculosis*, XLVI (1942), 227.

not wise, but because the faculty members resist. There are still a number of colleges that do not recognize the necessity for early diagnosis among their students. However, those who do always find some tuberculosis and find it in an early stage. If it is found in colleges which do not have a case-finding program, it is usually so far advanced that it could not be missed. Minimal tuberculosis is not a danger to the college, for usually the student is not coughing and does not infect his classmates. At this stage it can be discovered only by X-ray. If one waits until symptoms drive the patient to the physician, tuberculosis is almost always in at least a moderately advanced stage and takes much longer to cure. These latter patients do not always get well, even with modern methods. It should also be realized that many cases of tuberculosis which have developed a few years after college age were minimal during the college period and could have been diagnosed by X-ray at that time. We have the means of preventing and eradicating tuberculosis if we can interest more people in effective control measures.⁴

CONTROL OF BODY FUNCTIONS

Control of the activities of the body is carried out by the nervous system and the endocrine glands. The functioning of the latter has been a field of great exploitation by the newspaper, drug salesmen, and patent medicine vendors. Most of the textbooks of hygiene and medicine which describe these glands and their functions give vivid pictures or descriptions of their dysfunction or what happens when something goes wrong, and the reports that reach the layman often plant firmly in his mind that endocrine glands function improperly more often than not. We hear people speak about their chemistry being wrong, or of rejuvenation through monkey glands, or of hormones "gone wrong" because of the rather wild exploitation in this field.⁵ Because of this, one is prone to think that if a student is doing poorly in his work, it must be his glands; if one is overweight (usually because of over-eating), he is sure his thyroid is not functioning properly. Such

⁴ H. S. Diehl, *Textbook of Healthful Living* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939).

⁵ M. F. Guyer, *Speaking of Man* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942).

erroneous conclusions arise because the work of the nervous system and the endocrine glands is not properly understood. These systems, like the body mechanisms for digestion, circulation, and respiration, operate within a wide margin of safety. Maladjustments in behavior caused by improper glandular functioning or disturbances in the operation of the nervous system are relatively rare. For the most part, the durability of the human machine is adequately maintained by these controllers of physiological functions.

Principle 2: Human Beings Vary in Their Rate of Energy Output

The rate of energy expenditure varies among individuals and may vary for a given person from time to time. The durable human machine does not operate at the same speed for all persons. This second principle is important because it is one possible basis for differences in energy, enthusiasm, and speed of reaction among students. The program of activity which completely exhausts one student may leave another unaffected. One student may habitually be alert, quick-acting, energetic; another apparently sluggish, and slow-thinking. Yet in terms of individual rates of energy expenditure that have nothing to do with physical fitness, intelligence, or motivation, the first student may be simply one with a high rate of energy output, the second with a low rate. They may be equally motivated, equally intelligent, and equally healthy. Each student—and each faculty member—possesses a characteristic rate of energy expenditure that is peculiar to his own body.

YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE UNBOUNDED ENERGY

Most young people of college age have greater energy than they will later have. This is due to a number of causes. In adolescents or young adults, there is likely to be an acceleration of the metabolic rate. The rate of energy expenditure changes in velocity during the puberal cycle, rising to a peak at the time reproductive abilities emerge and gradually decelerating to the close of the adolescent cycle. Many college students are in the tag end of this deceleration process and thus have somewhat higher metabolic

rates than they will normally have in another few years. In addition, the strength and energy of young adults as compared with those in their early thirties, for example, is attested by the experience of the armed forces in the use of those over thirty in combat. Generally speaking, the reflexes and general reactivity and strength of a man of twenty-two are considerably faster and greater than for a man of thirty.

In spite of their relatively unbounded energy, however, young people sometimes show the symptoms of chronic fatigue. Since this chronic fatigue is common and a good illustration of how the principles of durability and variation in rate of energy output may be violated, it should be discussed in more detail.

FATIGUE IN YOUNG PEOPLE

The cause of chronic fatigue has been blamed on various conditions, changing with the newest finding in the medical field. Such diagnoses as autointoxication, imbalance of the nervous system, foci of infection, endocrine dysfunctions, and avitaminosis have been the petticoats behind which the patient could hide at different times. The old country doctor used to give his patients a tonic in the spring when they felt tired, and the modern mother goes to the drugstore or to her doctor in quest of vitamins for her child who she thinks is run down and tired. Because it is primarily a sensation, chronic fatigue defies any objective analysis and is difficult to study precisely by laboratory methods or physical examination. Certain features of chronic fatigue are usually present. It is a disagreeable sensation in contrast to the pleasant feeling following moderate or fairly severe muscular activity. It is noticed in the morning and tends to disappear by evening, rather than having any relation to activity which should tire a person, and is frequently not relieved by rest or sound sleep. Often the student will complain that he cannot get to sleep until late although he can sleep all morning. It often follows a period of worry or uncertainty, or is associated with lack of interest, mental depression, or a sense of frustration. Kepler⁴ thinks that these features strongly suggest that the entire symptom complex is psycho-

⁴E. J. Kepler, "Chronic Fatigue," *Proceedings of Staff Meetings, Mayo Clinic*, XVII (June 8, 1942), 840-44.

genic in origin rather than anatomic or metabolic. He further states that if we examine the way many of us live we would be amazed that all of us are not tired out all the time. Modern life, with its many impacts on the nervous system, has too few outlets for physical energy. Difficulties and troubles are no longer simple but consist of intangibles without apparent causes.

Persons suffering from chronic, or nervous, fatigue often do not take the necessary steps to correct this condition without outside help. Forbes points out that this is in sharp contrast to the behavior of people tired in other ways.⁷ If a man is exhausted from running or other exercise, he stops running or exercising; and if he gets sleepy while working a crossword puzzle, he sleeps. If, however, he becomes worn out with worry, he does not stop, but worries some more in spite of the fact that he would very much like to stop.

Many students consult the college physician with the chief complaint of fatigue. They complain that study is quite difficult. Or such students may be sent to the physician by a teacher, adviser, counselor, or the dean because they are not doing well in school, are poor citizens, or have committed a series of misdemeanors. When most of these young people have been tested for basal metabolic rates and blood counts, and a complete history has been obtained, most of them are not hypothyroid or anemic, but are found to have poorly organized schedules of study and too little sleep at night. Their greatest problem is to learn how to use their time and balance their activities in terms of their individual rate of energy expenditure.

Principle 3: The Human Body Must Maintain Biophysical Equilibrium

The concept of balance—of equilibrium—has been repeatedly emphasized in the foregoing. For example, the amount of water, calcium, and sugar necessary to good health is determined by the need for the organism to maintain itself in a state of biophysical equilibrium. The scales may be tipped, as it were, only to a certain

⁷W. H. Forbes, "Problems Arising in the Study of Fatigue," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, V (April 1943), 155-57.

degree before illness or death occurs; that is, blood sugar should be kept at a level of 90 to 100 milligrams percent, but may drop to 65 or 70 percent without danger. However, when this happens, processes within the body are immediately set in motion to rectify this condition and to draw upon stores of starches and other substances to bring the blood-sugar level more nearly to its normal level. Internal mechanisms exist, therefore, to keep the body in balance, in equilibrium.

External conditions must also assist in maintaining physiological equilibrium. Food, water, rest, activity are needs which must be met to assist internal mechanisms in their function of keeping an appropriate balance. When these physiological needs are not met, the balance of the body is upset; illnesses, major or minor, may develop.

The need for maintaining equilibrium is especially important to adolescents and young adults because of the somatic changes which occur during these years. For example, the velocity of growth is accelerated during puberty and, hence, imposes additional demands upon the organism for food, rest, and activity of appropriate types. The adolescent boy or girl who is growing rapidly needs greater quantities of food and rest and large-muscle activity because of the increase in metabolic rates during this period. His body processes are often increased in their speed of operation so that, to maintain physiological equilibrium, the activity, rest, and food requirements of the organism are intensified and enlarged.

With these considerations in mind, it is easier to understand the likelihood of various imbalances. During these years the body economy is often upset and disorganized by the acceleration of some growth processes, such as the growth of the reproductive system, and by the increase in general energy output which leads to intense activity without at the same time providing the muscular strength and stamina to prevent fatigue. This is why college students frequently expend more energy than they should, get less sleep than is needed, eat inadequately, and in other ways strain their bodies to keep going beyond the limits of the margin of safety. Balance is lost.

Principle 4: The Body Is a Symbol of the Self

At no period of life are the attitudes and feelings of the individual toward his body and the changes occurring gradually or suddenly in it more crucial than during the adolescent and early adult years. In a very real sense the body is a symbol of the self, so that if the person conceives his body to be inadequate, he conceives himself to be inadequate. As young people complete their growth and realize that their general body build, for example, has reached its adult proportions, they are faced with an immutable fact that may be unacceptable to them. The tall, spindle-legged, flat-chested boy who wants to be an athlete; the short, squat girl who knows too well the valuation put upon her appearance by boys and by her more comely sisters; and the husky, broad-shouldered athlete, alike find their bodies fit or unfit to meet the demands which their personalities, their egos, place upon them. The physiological conditions of the body are reflected in two important psychological needs: the need for feeling that one is like others in essential and desirable ways and, second, the need for self-acceptance of the body.

Adolescence is a time when young people have a great desire to be like everyone else. The girls all wear bobby socks whether it is cold or warm, or no stockings at all, because all other girls do. Suzie wears a sweater, whether she is fat or thin and whether it is becoming or not, because it is collegiate. When students live in dormitories together, or dress before and after a gym class, they notice if they are not exactly like others in body build. Not realizing that everyone does not mature at the same age, that we all do not and cannot acquire the same build, a girl may become concerned if her breasts have not developed and will sometimes wear a stuffing to deceive her friends. At times she will go to see the college doctor to find out if she can have some injections to make her breasts grow larger, only to find out that she needs to gain weight most of all and to wait until nature chooses to mature her body.⁸ A boy may think himself less of a man than his companions if he has smaller muscular development, a flat chest, or smaller genitals.

⁸ H. R. and L. M. Stoltz, "Adolescent Problems Related to Somatic Variations," in *Adolescence*, 43rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Education, 1944), p. 83.

Some girls and boys show a disturbance over what Stolz terms "sex-inappropriate face and figure." If a girl is unusually tall, extremely thin, or overweight, she is likely to seek help or at least talk about it, and she may even use these characteristics as an excuse for her lack of dates with boys. Boys may show concern over characteristics of physique which they think are sexually inappropriate, such as small genitals, scanty pubic hair, considerable increase of fat around the hips, or of subcutaneous tissue about the nipples. A girl may spend a lot of time on her face and avoid eating, even if she is hungry and not really overweight, if she believes such efforts will add to her attractiveness.

Many times these differences in figure noted by the adolescent are much exaggerated in the mind of the young person. He or she needs to know that these differences are often a passing phase of a normal development and that all adolescents do not become adult at the same age, and, therefore, do not reach the same stage of maturity at the same time. Often they must be taught appropriate dress and grooming to make the undesirable or so-called defects inconspicuous. Overweight students should not expect to look well in the same clothes as tall, thin students. Many of these young people can be encouraged to develop compensatory assets which will help them to gain social acceptance in spite of their physical differences from others.

Obesity is often an acute problem in the young college girl. At times, when she is considerably overweight, she will develop an inferiority feeling and, instead of getting help with her diet, will eat incessantly. This is particularly true of a girl who is not popular with boys or girls or one who is not doing well in school. These students are occasionally glandular cases and need the advice of a physician, often a specialist. However, many of them are merely creatures of the habit of overeating. They are not good students because they have never learned discipline and, for the same reason, overeat. They eat several helpings at the dinner table, particularly of the high caloric foods, and eat sweets between meals. No one has taught them that the body lays down as fat that food which is eaten in excess of the body's needs. Nor has anyone helped this boy or girl in personality development. Often these cases become a vicious cycle, the overweight adding to the personality problem and the personality problem producing the

overweight. Such individuals, if shown not to need glandular treatment (and most overweight individuals are not hypothyroid, contrary to popular belief), may need the help of the psychologist or psychiatrist as well as a dietitian or internist to straighten them out. For the average overweight person, interest in and knowledge of the proper diet is enough to stimulate action.⁹

Acne probably is the most universal cause of emotional disturbance of all the physical defects found in young people and is found to some degree in 70 percent of boys. When it is marked and present over a long period of time, it usually becomes disturbing either to the person having it or to his parents. Mothers often exaggerate the appearance of acne in the minds of their daughters, especially by constantly speaking of it and how unattractive it looks. Acne is an oversecretion of the oil glands (sebaceous) of the skin.¹⁰ During adolescence, when the glands are adjusting to adult life, imbalance of the sebaceous glands is not uncommon, causing an oily skin over the face, chest, or back. When this oversecretion of oil is marked, scrupulous care of the skin is indicated to prevent the oil from plugging up the pores and leaving the ugly red lesions over the face or trunk. Probably the most important part of the treatment is learning how to cleanse the face and to keep the hands off the lesions. Many of the advertisements for soap and acne preparations are designed to lure the adolescent, fearful that he or she will have scars and be marked for life, into buying wares.

Young people should be told that a great deal can be done for acne, and, by proper treatment, their faces will be much more attractive even if it does not clear up as soon as they would like. Girls with acne, for which they have been doing nothing for months, will go to the doctor and ask what they can do to clear up their skin in a period of a few days because they are going to a dance with their special date. Acne is a chronic condition and needs careful treatment over a long period of time.

Blackheads are also found in oily skins and are the result of a plugging of the oil glands with a thick secretion and specks of

⁹Elmer L. Severinghaus, *Endocrine Therapy in General Practice* (Chicago: Yearbook Publishers, Inc., 1938).

¹⁰I. W. Jones, "Acne, The Plague of Youth," *Hygeia*, October 1938, p. 881. Condensed for *Reader's Digest*, October 1938.

dirt. Such skin needs care in cleansing, as does a skin with acne, and soap and water, steam, alcohol rubs, cold application of water, will help to restore the skin to its normal cleanliness. Cosmeticians will attempt to sell cold cream for such conditions. Greasy creams should not be used on an oily skin unless they are used for cleansing purposes and are washed off immediately with soap and warm water.

MENSTRUATION, A NORMAL PHYSIOLOGICAL FUNCTION

One of the normal physiological functions which disturb young women is the variation in the length of the menstrual cycle. Because women have been told that the average menstrual cycle is twenty-eight days, young girls often think they are not normal if they are irregular or overdue. Probably no college physician at a woman's college sees a day pass by between the middle of October and the Christmas holidays without at least one girl coming into the office, concerned because her next menstrual period is overdue. They are sure this is why they have acne, or don't feel like working, or are not doing well in school. Often mother will write the physician, stating that she is worried about this matter and wondering if some injections can be given to alleviate the condition. Since there is considerable variation in the cycle of adult women, it is not surprising that there are irregularities to a greater degree in the adolescent for the first few years after menarche (the first menstrual period). Hartman¹¹ states that one in a hundred women is strictly regular in her periods, and that statistics taken from hospital records on the regularity of menstrual periods are inaccurate due to the fact that memory is faulty. He points out that when women keep a calendar they soon find out that menstruation does not reappear with precision as they had thought, and that young girls are even more irregular than adult women. For the most part these young women, if they feel well and have no other physical troubles, need not worry about the irregularity of their periods, even if they have prolonged intervals of amenorrhea (lack of menstrual flow) until they are about twenty. If they are concerned, they should go to a well-

¹¹C. G. Hartman, *Time of Ovulation in Women* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1936).

qualified physician, preferably a gynecologist or endocrinologist, and have studies made to determine whether they need treatment. It must be remembered, however, that many healthy women never have a twenty-eight day cycle and some remain markedly irregular all of their menstrual lives. The marked irregularity often seen in the adolescent girl is part of her physiological learning of that period.

It would seem that most girls and women know very little about their menstrual periods except that the average woman "has the curse" every twenty-eight or thirty days and if she is late something is wrong, for she must get rid of that bad blood or she will have acne, or something worse. It is because of the ignorance and superstition that has surrounded the normal periodical functioning of the female organs that woman has gone to the patent medicine advertisers for most of her knowledge of these organs and their functioning. Palmer and Greenburg show how the advertisers have taken advantage of this lack of knowledge in their advertising of feminine hygiene and patent medicines for the various disorders, or imagined maladies, of the female reproductive tract. These advertisers use such statements as "there are some problems so intimate that it is embarrassing to talk them over with a doctor" or, as one of the highly advertised sanitary napkin advertisements states: "Panicky? Like a shadow, fear haunts you. Every minute I wonder if I am safe." Such an ad, Palmer and Greenburg remind us, might have a rather fearful effect on a young girl who is uninformed and to whom the adjustment to the new functions of menstruation is enough of a problem without suggestion of the danger of an accident.¹²

Probably most young women know so little about their menstrual periods because their mothers had not the scientific language to talk to them and thereby make the telling natural. When we all learn to call the reproductive organs by their right names as easily as we speak of our noses and throats, it will be a sad day for superstition and taboos concerning sex. However, that day is not yet in sight, for although the word "sex" is out in the open and printed in the daily newspapers and in advertisements in more subtle ways, it is still doubtful if women have learned any

¹² R. L. Palmer and S. K. Greenburg, *Facts and Frauds in Woman's Hygiene* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1936).

more accurately the fundamental underlying principles of menstruation and its hygiene. It is not within the province of this chapter to discuss in detail the knowledge that every woman should have about this normal physiological function. The reader should consult such books as Novak, Bowman, Palmer and Greenburg, or hygiene texts such as Diehl or Rice,¹⁸ for a clearer understanding of this subject. Suffice it to say here that menstruation, being a normal physiological function, is not ordinarily accompanied by pain (dysmenorrhea), and should not incapacitate a woman during the days of her flow. Most women (85 percent of girls are without discomfort or pain during menses, according to Diehl) can go about their duties as usual, getting a moderate amount of exercise and bathing as at other times. If a girl or woman has severe pain at every period, she should consult a well-qualified physician, possibly a specialist in women's diseases (gynecologist) to see what can be done for her.

Principle 5: Mind, Body, and Emotions Have Interrelations

When we see a terrible accident, a number of physiological changes occur in the economy of our bodies: we shudder, our hearts start pounding, our hair rises, our stomachs contract, we perspire, we may involuntarily scream or shout, and so on. The sight of the accident produces effects such as those which equip us, physically, to flee or fight. Such changes are mediated by the autonomic nervous system which automatically helps to adjust the body economy to do the things it wants to do, such as fleeing from the accident or rushing in to help the survivors.

A man sits quietly reading the evening paper. Suddenly his eye lights upon the obituary notice of a friend whom he thought well. Again, his body economy is upset: he has a cold feeling in the pit of his stomach; he may cry; his breathing may become more rapid and superficial.

Such common experiences as these illustrate the point that the mind, body, and emotions of the individual are inextricably bound within the organism. As has been repeatedly stated, mind, body,

¹⁸ Emil Novak, *The Woman Asks the Doctor* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1935); H. A. Bowman, *Marriage for Moderns* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942); Palmer and Greenburg, *op. cit.*; Diehl, *op. cit.*; Thurman B. Rice, *Living* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1940).

and emotions, except for purposes of discussion, cannot be considered as entities which function in a discrete, unitary fashion. Emotional states certainly influence our ability to think; a well-rested body, healthy and strong, tends to be accompanied by calm, pleasant affective states; severe physical pain interferes with our rational powers. Mind, body, and emotions are thus three aspects of the same thing—the functioning organism.

Implications

There are at least these five principles or major concepts regarding physical growth and development which are necessary to a personnel philosophy of education. The human body is a durable machine (1) which operates at varying speeds among different individuals and within one individual (2). The body must maintain biophysical equilibrium, a state of balance (3) through both internal mechanisms, such as those regulating the amount of blood sugar, and external mechanisms, such as the device of sleeping enough. The final principles, namely that the body is a symbol of the self (4) and that body, mind, and emotions have close interrelations (5) stress the important ways in which psychological and physiological aspects of behavior are related.

As colleges incorporate in their thinking such concepts and principles as these, they are making increased efforts to help the student understand these principles. The purpose of increasing the student's understanding of himself underlies all the following implications of the principles we have discussed.

1. The human body is a durable machine: The implication of this principle for the counselors' attitude toward health data is clear. When a counselor is faced with the health report of a student which lists numerous childhood diseases or current physical deficiencies, his first assumption is that the student will "get on top." This is not to say that the necessary conditions which will assist the student to live healthfully and to develop a strong body should not also receive both the student's and the counselor's attention. The emphasis, however, is positive and assuring, for if the human body is durable, it can be expected, given the opportunity, to maintain itself adequately. This kind of positive emphasis differs from a tendency among counselors who are sensitive to

physical conditions to become unnecessarily disturbed over the presence of physical ailments or a health history of many diseases. It must not be forgotten that basically the human body is not a delicate mechanism, but exceedingly staunch and serviceable for the ordinary exigencies of living.

A second implication of this principle relates to the health program of the college. Experience has shown that when routine physical examinations are conducted by the health department of the college to identify special cases needing treatment or special consideration, then the major emphasis in the health program can fall upon providing the conditions for healthful living. Again, this is a positive emphasis. Provisions must be made for appropriate physical activity for students with all types of physical build and all degrees of physical stamina. For example, the tendency in many colleges to emphasize intercollegiate athletics which provide participation for the few and to neglect an emphasis upon intramural athletics which provide physical activities for all students virtually ignores the need on the part of each student for appropriate activity. Provisions must be made for appropriate rhythms of activity and rest. For example, when at certain seasons, such as at examination time, or during the opening weeks of school, the amount of activities of one type—classroom or social—is allowed to pile up into peaks of frenzied bustle, a balance between rest and activity is made impossible. The whole program of the college needs to be geared to the principle that although the human body is a durable machine, the conditions for maintaining it within its margin of safety must steadily be recognized.

2. Human beings vary in their rate of energy output: Two students in the same class varied in their rate of energy output: George was a dynamic, hard-driving, energetic individual, always on the *qui vive*, willing to participate extensively and voluntarily in class discussions, and always eager to do more than was required of him. Allen, on the other hand, was slow-moving and slow-talking. His deliberate habit in speech and thought was the antithesis of George's rapid-fire, almost impulsive behavior. Allen tended to do a minimum of class work; he rarely volunteered in class discussions, but when he did or when he was directly

addressed, his responses were thoughtful and to the point. Both boys were intelligent, personable, socially well adjusted. Their differences in behavior were in large part due to differences in metabolic rate—differences in speed with which their bodies operated. An insensitive teacher, blind to the implications for behavior of differences in rate of energy output, might tend to value George more than Allen. A sensitive teacher would recognize that these differences in behavior were the result of physiological processes due to genetic factors over which neither had any control and which did not deny either one an acceptable rating as a student.

The implication for the general program of the college, as experience has shown, is that when variations in energy output among individuals are recognized, opportunities for appropriate and satisfying activity may be provided for everyone. It is inevitable in a competitive society that persons of high energy output should tend to be the most highly valued persons. They are the ones who get things done. They are in the most activities. They rarely tire. They are brimful of pep and energy. They tend to be the much-sought-after individuals. Consequently, they tend to run off with the honors. If the principle of variation in rate of energy output is applied in the planning of the extra-class life of the college, the value put upon the individual will not be determined so much by how many things he does, but by how well he does them and how appropriate is the expenditure of energy in relation to the value of the purposes he has. If this principle were rigorously applied, each student, working with his counselor, would find in campus activities such a variety of opportunities for physical, social, and intellectual activity, that he would be able to formulate a plan for a program appropriate to his needs—a plan, that is, in keeping with his energy output as well as in keeping with his need to be valued as a person. In other words, it should be possible for each student to find in campus life a role which brings him satisfactions without demanding that he "stretch" his physical energies beyond their limits. It is entirely possible that many students who now complain of fatigue and emotional exhaustion are in such a condition because in order to achieve a satisfying campus life, they must do things beyond the scope of

their physical powers. They must attend more committee meetings, participate in a wider variety of activity, and spend longer hours of concentrated effort in both class and extra-class activities than is appropriate to their rate of energy output. Conditions such as these may be remedied through the application of the second principle.

3. The human body must maintain biophysical equilibrium: Much of what we have said regarding the necessity of recognizing variations among individuals in rate of energy output is pertinent to the application of the third principle. To maintain the body in a state of balance implies appropriate rhythms of activity and rest, a balanced diet, the maintenance of adequate elimination, and so on. To achieve such a physiological balance involves for the individual a recognition of his own limits—that is, the points within which he must operate to achieve the balance. For example, some people can get along with five hours' sleep a day for an indefinite period of time; others can maintain such a sleeping schedule for only a short time before they have exceeded the limits of their reserve power. Some individuals are able consistently to participate in physical activities for many hours, whereas others must intersperse their physical exertions with frequent periods of rest. In other words, the pattern of living appropriate to the maintenance of biophysical equilibrium varies with individuals. For this reason it is necessary that each student learn in consultation with the physical education department, the health service, his counselor, and his teachers what his particular pattern of living should be. He should be able through the provision of a variety of physical activities to find his best pattern of life. By this is meant that the right of the individual to control his participation in campus life is recognized when such participation is dependent upon his physiological need. On one campus, an exceedingly capable student was brought to the verge of a nervous breakdown because his versatility put him much in demand by a wide variety of campus organizations. The pressure upon him to participate in excess of his physical reserves was such that he could not refuse without endangering his status with others. Since the drive for status is exceedingly powerful, it was impossible, he felt, to limit his participation. Such things ought not to be. Ideally, a student

should be able to accept the presidency of the student council, for example, and to do little else if this job is all that he can handle in terms of his physical reserves. The positions of leadership should not be allowed to fall entirely and indiscriminately to the lot of those who are physically powerful.

4. The body is a symbol of self: When the intimate relations between physical growth and development and the individual's attitude toward himself and his social adjustment are recognized, the implications for practices are patent. It becomes very meaningful to the social adjustment of students that variations in growth pattern, for example, be recognized by teachers as well as by students. It is difficult for an individual to adjust socially when he deviates noticeably in appearance from others, for example, the colored student in a predominantly white community, the excessively tall or fat individual, and so on. When, however, differences among individuals are accepted without emotion and without any implication that deviate persons are less worthy persons, the security of the student who deviates is enhanced. This acceptance enables him to come to grips with his own body, an essential developmental task.

The second implication, already discussed, is that each student is able to find a role appropriate to his body.

A third and final implication is that in the classroom and in the counseling relation the facts about individual variability in rate of energy output, in appearance, in basic physiological needs, in body build, and the like, are known and stated.

5. Mind, body, and emotions have interrelations: The unity of the organism has implications for many of the practices which have already been discussed in Part I. For example, teachers recognize that although the classroom emphasizes intellectual activities, it is folly to ignore the feelings and physiological condition of students if learning is to be effective. Accordingly, alert teachers are sensitive to such symptoms as sleepiness, sprawling posture, nervous mannerisms, and efforts to gain attention through loud talking, for these suggest the possibility of exhaustion, nervous tension, and insecurity which will interfere with efficient learning. Observations of such behavior, written down briefly in anecdotal records, and transmitted to the student's counselor, the

health office, or other appropriate person, become a source of personnel information which helps to identify the causes of poor academic performance and suggest the methods of remedying it.

Similarly, the implications for the general organization of campus life are patent. When the individual's behavior is seen to include the components of mental, physiological, and emotional reactions, the types of experiences provided in extra-class life, such as in the dormitory, in athletics, and in social life, are organized to utilize the full range of powers of each student.

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Philosophical Principles

By *Charles Wesley Cannom*¹

THAT PHILOSOPHY has any relation to the theory and practice of personnel work will doubtless surprise some readers. The contribution of psychology is apparent enough, providing not only a description of the way in which the personality develops, but also tests and other devices to measure differences between individuals and changes in an individual's behavior. The concepts of sociology provide helpful hypotheses in terms of which the guidance worker can understand the student as a member of a social group confronted by dynamic growth tasks. Biological principles have also long been emphasized in personnel work since they are basic concepts about the individual as a living organism. But philosophy—are there any comparable facts and principles in philosophy that have a bearing on the interests, insights, and activities of the personnel worker?

Philosophy does not have, like biology, sociology, and psychology, factual data to contribute to personnel work, for it is not a descriptive science. But philosophy does contribute to personnel work as suggested by a number of commonly employed phrases. We speak of a "philosophy of student personnel work," and again of a "personnel philosophy of education." A widely used brochure is entitled *The Student Personnel Point of View*.² Philosophy would seem to have some relationship to student personnel work, however different in kind it may be from that of the descriptive sciences.

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² *The Student Personnel Point of View: A Report of a Conference on the Philosophy and Development of Student Personnel Work in College and University* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1897).

When we refer to the facts and principles of philosophy which may underlie personnel work, we do not think of any special information which is peculiarly the property of philosophers and which is alleged to have a bearing upon guidance practices. What philosophers have said, which is quite another thing, however, is philosophy; later we shall point out the implications of the great philosophic tradition for personnel work. But first let us look at philosophy as a method or a disposition toward experience; for basically philosophy is simply an unusually strenuous effort to make sense of stubborn and inconsistent facts. Does this spirit have any place in student personnel work?

One of the tasks performed by the philosopher is the clarification of the basic concepts in any field. He extends and expands them so that their full implications are realized. Such development of a suggestive frame of reference or context for assumptions and hypotheses related to various sciences is at bottom a philosophic venture. Since it is easy to mistake the part for the whole or the means for the end, the development of these guiding principles is a task of the first importance. The phrase, "personnel philosophy of education," suggests the basic task of making explicit the assumptions about the growth and development of the student so that the guidance worker may begin with a unified, consistent conception of the student as a dynamic organism functioning within a physical and social environment.

For example, the assumptions that make up the "student personnel point of view" constitute the frame of reference in light of which the personnel worker proceeds. For one thing, the broad objectives of general education illustrate such assumptions, for we say that the behavior of the student should be changed, if necessary, so that he will be an effective member of his society and will make the best possible use of his potentialities. Another cluster of propositions relates to the "needs" approach in education. We assume from data drawn from the various sciences that the student has certain purposes, that he encounters difficulties in achieving them, and that to surmount these difficulties he must develop personal resources in the form of skills, knowledge, interests, attitudes, and abilities. Another frame of reference, the concept of the student as a unitary psychobiological organism in in-

teraction with dynamic forces in the environment, has implications for personnel practices and procedures. As a dynamic organism the student responds as a whole being to forces from within and without, yet always in terms of a unique pattern of abilities, interests, and skills. Still other propositions relate to the environment in which the individual lives. Dynamic and changing in nature, the society of the individual is composed of subcultures each one of which imposes its own limitations and opportunities upon him.

A philosophy of personnel work is made up of assumptions, hypotheses, or propositions such as these and is based on data taken from the various descriptive sciences. The philosophic spirit is the urge to get below the surface of things to their basic connections, so that the word "philosophy" in the phrase suggests that we are not satisfied until we have expanded these fundamental assumptions into a complete and consistent frame of reference. This frame of reference is at once a guide for the development of specific procedures and a test of their adequacy.

The Philosophic Tradition and Personnel Work

But philosophy is not only a spirit and a method. On the subject-matter side, philosophy is also what philosophers have said about life and the universe. Since philosophers are in part the creatures of their cultures as well as the creators of new ones, they have not always agreed in what they have said about these profound subjects. So a Plato in the *Republic*, a Rousseau in *Emile*, and a Dewey in *Experience and Education*, have made different assumptions about human nature and the kind of environment in which it develops. The more important developments in the history of thought have wide implications for guidance work today.

According to John Dewey, the great tradition of philosophy is really the story of man's age-old "quest for certainty."² Earliest of all, man sought security for himself by propitiating the powers that were thought to surround him and to control his life and destiny. Slowly he came to invent various mechanical arts by means of which to get his way independently of these powers. But the extent of his control over nature was always slight enough,

² John Dewey, *The Quest For Certainty* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1929). The interpretation above is essentially Dewey's.

and it was ordinarily accompanied by a feeling of dangerous pride, as in the Prometheus story. Although men were willing enough to enjoy whatever increment of comfort or of control the practical arts could bring, the whole effort to bend nature to their wills was always marked by a deep feeling of distrust when it came to coping with the more ultimate problems of life. To some extent practice was always necessary, but it was not felt to be as safe as adjustment to the vicissitudes of life through changing one's ideas or feelings about things. These changes in the mind and heart came to be prized for their own sake, apart from any practical consequences that they might have. The places where the mechanical arts were practiced came to be regarded as inferior or even base. Things "material" developed the connotations carried by our term "materialism," while the things pertaining to the mind acquired the connotations of our term "spiritual." Experience was thus divided into doing and thinking.

At least two factors conspired to deepen and widen this cultural split between doing and thinking. For one thing, work was always onerous and unwelcome, and when possible it was assigned to slaves or to a lower social class. Loss of social status frequently attended the doing of work, while the leisure necessary for the nonproductive cultivation of the mind symbolized aristocracy. Theory was felt somehow to be better than practice; knowing than doing; and mind than body.

Another thing that helped to widen this cultural rift was the obviously precarious nature of all practical activity. Each practical situation was so different from the last that beliefs about them amounted to little more than mere probability. On the other hand, the mind seemed able to get hold of a type of "being" that was changeless and absolutely secure. Since it was certainty that men were after, the changeless, rational truths were preferred to the changing practical lessons in control over nature that left so many questions unanswered. In short, feelings both of fear and of repugnance were associated with doing and working; considerations of "safety first" led men to cultivate a realm of the mind where neither moth nor rust can corrupt. The things that were seen were consigned to the temporal, while the things that were not seen were felt to be eternal.

The rise of modern science, of course, amounted to little less than

a complete reversal of this feeling. With the aid of mathematics the new science sought certainty in the despised realm of practical affairs, and found more and more of it. The type of certainty that science yielded did not claim to be absolute, but this was pardonable when, geared to big business, it yielded a thousand mechanical gadgets for the alleviation of the human estate. The age-old associations that had been built up around the material were not entirely dispersed, however, so that the cultural value of doing and of working was still somewhat suspect. For two thousand years the goal of the best knowing had been the certification of the true, the beautiful, and the good as the really worth while things in life. These spiritual values still stood over against all such material gains, and condemned them.

Some Consequences for a Philosophy of Education

Some of the more obvious consequences of this basic cultural split are of interest to educational theory and, since the "student personnel point of view" is in a very real sense an expression of a philosophy of education, they are worth mentioning here.

Since the mechanical arts had to do with the despised realm "of the many and the variable," they were felt to be less worthy than the liberal arts. The mechanical arts dealt with "means," while the liberal arts dealt with "ends," or with values having final and intrinsic worth. The mechanical arts always suggested the hand, toil, and the sweat of the brow, while the liberal arts suggested the mind, the book, and the cloistered retreat. We see this feeling of qualitative difference today when agricultural and mechanical colleges are referred to as "cow colleges," while the liberal arts institutions jealously guard what they take to be their peculiar heritage of worth and significance. The liberal arts are felt to be liberal precisely because they have nothing to do with the grime and dirt of the dairy, the field, and the shop.

Since the mechanical arts involved such practical skills as surveying, animal husbandry, and woodworking, they had to be taught in practice or apprenticeship situations. For the practical arts, learning resulted from doing with the hands. This grimy doing with the hands contrasted unfavorably with the way in which the liberal arts were learned, where the mind rather than the body

was used. So the liberal arts came to be segregated since the cultivation of the mind was felt to be more worth while than the routine repetition of practices which had to do with the body. To this day a course in logic or in English literature is sometimes felt to have more "cultural" value than a course in animal husbandry or mechanical drawing.

From the point of view of the professions, shops and factories were contrasted with the "learned" professions. Those who worked with their hands were marked off from the "white collar" workers who made use of their minds. Not that those who worked with their hands had no preparation, but it was a practice or apprenticeship period which compared unfavorably with the education of the professional man who had "developed his mind" or acquired primarily mental skills. Status differences appeared, as those who were engaged in the practice of mechanical arts were called upon to support those who engaged in the nonproductive liberal arts. Plato illustrates this arrangement when he appoints the liberally educated philosopher-kings to rule in the ideal state, arranges for a much larger artisan class to work with its hands and to produce for all, and provides for a military establishment to stabilize the arrangement as a whole. The subtle feeling of respect that we accord the scholar, together with the corresponding feeling of commonness that we associate with even the skilled mechanical arts evidence the fact that these caste and class differences persist.

Those who were engaged in the practical arts tended to react defensively whenever the value-question was raised, since they had been either tacitly or openly accused of having no values. They worked with their hands, for one thing, so that the odium of the body was associated with all that they did. More than that, they worked in the rejected realm of the material, where absolute truth could not be found. Since the true, the beautiful, and the good were cultivated by the mind often in a realm apart from practical affairs, the agricultural and mechanical arts had little chance of finding or realizing them. Those who were engaged in the liberal arts, on the other hand, felt that they had a monopoly of cultural values and resented every encroachment of the practical or *ad hoc* arts upon their curriculum. As one such encroachment followed another, particularly after the passing of the Mor-

hill Act, the liberal arts became increasingly averse to manual activity, so that the phrase "merely academic" came to be sometimes appropriate, suggesting as it does that type of mental activity that goes on largely for its own sake, perhaps quite unrelated to the practical, even despised, world of affairs.

As the real and ideal worlds moved apart, the unity of experience was lost. Both sides of the cultural gap were impoverished as things material were cultivated to the neglect of mind and vice versa. For those who took to doing, the good life was defined as "success" or the accumulation of material goods and the multiplication of physical conveniences. For those who took to thinking, the good life was defined as virtue or the accumulation of spiritual goods and the multiplication of spiritual experiences. Both, of course, were partial goals, for if man cannot live by bread alone, neither can he live without it.

Implications for Understanding the Individual Student

The individual is not a disembodied mind, nor is he a body without a mind. He is a psychobiological organism in constant interaction with a complex array of environmental forces. As an organism he necessarily responds to his environment as a "whole being." Sometimes we break up this essential oneness for purposes of study or special training and talk of intellectual discipline or of the student's physiological needs. In the classroom, for example, intellectual activity takes precedence over everything else as the student gains experience in reasoning, recalling, abstracting, and appreciating. But even in the classroom intellectual activity is never completely separated from emotional and physiological experience, as we see when fatigue affects the ability of the student to concentrate or emotional disturbances vitiate his interest in study. All of the various disciplines, such as physiology, language, morals, aesthetics, and religion, are interpreted in terms of the individual's adjustment to a dynamic environment. Regardless of the different valuation of learning by doing or learning by reading and meditating, whatever the individual does has potential educative value for him and will necessarily be integrated within himself. Emotional, intellectual, and physical experiences are still experiences inherently containing educational significance.

Each student is not like every other student and all, alike, ready receptacles into which the culture of the past can be poured. As Prescott has pointed out,⁴ each individual has patterns of needs which are peculiar to himself. Each student has physiological growth tasks to perform, as when he seeks to maintain within himself an appropriate rhythm between activity and rest. Each student also has social growth tasks to accomplish, as when he seeks to become an effective and contributing member of successively wider social groupings. Each has also integrative growth tasks to perform, as when he strives to achieve a "sense of worthy selfhood." All of this is to say that each student is a dynamic organism, reacting as a whole being to an equally dynamic environment. Here the similarity between students ceases, however, since no two individuals have had the same experiences. Within this broad organic framework, each student has to project his own purposes in the light of his individual needs. He encounters difficulties which are peculiar to himself—difficulties which may relate either to himself or to the environment in which he finds himself. In overcoming these difficulties, he develops his own skills, knowledges, interests, attitudes, and abilities. It becomes important not only to recognize individual differences, but also to begin where the student is in attempting to help him meet his needs. In order to do this more adequately a number of personnel methods have been developed, such as testing, clinical services, and counseling procedures; and the personnel point of view is sometimes identified with them. At its basis, however, it is a philosophy of education which lies behind all such techniques and services.

Antecedent assumptions about the nature of man can only result in the trifurcation of the individual into body and mind and spirit. All such a priori assumptions tend to split the personality because each is designed to do a special job, as when for special reasons man is taken to be primarily spirit, for other reasons primarily mind, or for still other reasons primarily body. It is only of late, after having drawn upon the several sciences for data relating to human nature, that we have been able to piece together

⁴D. A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), chap. vi.

an adequate picture of the individual interacting with his environment.

Implications for Understanding the Curriculum

If curricular experiences grow out of the various developmental tasks of the student, they will display a corresponding organic unity. It may be that for purposes of study, for example, religion will be separated from the vocational arts, or the sciences from the humanities. Even then, however, each area of experience will not be assumed to exist independently of every other area of experience, nor will any subject be assumed to be somehow intrinsically more worthy than any other. A merely cultural education, at the expense of scientific or vocational training, will not be held to be adequate for the life that the student must lead in a society such as we have today. Nor will a merely scientific or vocational education, apart from the development of any cultural insights and appreciations, be thought adequate for the really good life today.

All of the student's reactions to his environment must be included within the learning process, even though in institutions of higher education the emphasis may be primarily on "intellectual activity." If the student were primarily a mind, having to achieve only growth tasks that are mental in nature, it would be possible to define the learning process in terms of the acquisition and retention of subject materials. If he is a unitary organism that feels and acts as well as thinks, and if he has purposes that relate to the future and memories that relate to the past, learning cannot then mean only the acquiring of information or the development of intellectual skills. Learning must be a function of the whole student as, in the light of his needs, he projects goals and tries to achieve them. All of the experiences which the student has, curricular and extra-curricular, inevitably can become genuine learning situations.

Implications for the Administration of Student Personnel

If the personnel point of view is identical with a philosophy of general education, and if education deals with the whole student and begins where the student is, then a variety of techniques and

resources is indicated to facilitate the learning process. Testing services to measure abilities and aptitudes of different sorts, counseling services through the use of which the student may come more nearly to understand and to accept himself, clinics of different kinds such as speech, reading, health, and the like—these and other personnel services, developed in the light of the needs and opportunities of the individual situation, are essential to effective general education.

If both personnel work and education have to do with the whole student, then there is no instructor, administrator, or laborer on the campus who is not engaged in personnel work. Differences in emphasis may appear: the science teacher as counselor may emphasize the value of scientific facts and principles for citizenship, while the vocational counselor may emphasize in his discussions with the same student the integration of scientific and other insights in an adequate social and vocational adjustment. If all faculty members have a personnel philosophy of education, however, they see the interrelatedness of what they are doing to the development of the student as a whole being.

XIII

Sociological Principles

FROM A SOCIOLOGICAL point of view, the accident of being born into a particular family, neighborhood, community, and nation determines most of a person's language habits, his customs, ideas, beliefs, and interests. One person speaks French, another English; one customarily kills his aged father, another takes him into his own home, reveres him, and nurses him until he dies naturally; one eats with his fingers from a bowl, also used by others; another uses an assortment of silver forks, spoons, and knives in eating from an individual plate; one finds aesthetic pleasure in a tom-tom, another in the strains of symphonic music.

Such a principle accounts similarly for the differences within a single, complex culture. In America, one man says "thoity-thoid" street, another "thirty-third"; one is Republican, another Democrat; one, Protestant; another, Catholic; one person eats standing up whenever he is hungry and grabs his food in his hands, another eats at stated intervals and has his meal served while he sits before a linen-covered table, decked with carefully matched and selected dishes and utensils; one believes that women should smoke if they feel like it, another asserts this habit in women is "of the devil." The point is well taken that each person exemplifies in his habits, ideas, customs, and beliefs, the culture from which he comes. As Frazier says:

The sociologist recognizes that every human being is born into a pre-established society or group with its particular language, customs, behavior patterns, and ideas. As a result of his participation in a social world, the individual's behavior—what he perceives as well as what he does—is defined by the responses of other members of the group. In this manner the behavior of the individual acquires meaning in terms of the particular culture into which he was born. Moreover, his behavior—his thoughts and actions in regard to himself as well as toward others—becomes organized in relation to the behavior of others. Therefore, in order to understand the particular personality, the

sociologist focuses his attention first upon the social and cultural context in which the personality takes form.¹

It is partly for this reason—that the personality develops in terms of a particular cultural pattern into which it is born—that colleges attend so carefully to the background of the student, not only to his academic background as in former years, but increasingly to the "cultural context" from which he comes—his family's socio-economic status, his religious associations, his parents' attitudes, and the like.

Socialization: The Process

As the individual develops from childhood into adolescence, he gradually absorbs or "internalizes" the culture in which he lives. Thus, the three-year-old plays indiscriminately and impartially with Negro and white children; but the ten-year-old, reared in the tradition of racial prejudice, shows discrimination and partiality, perhaps not so much through his own experience as through the influence of his parents' attitudes and the prevailing feelings among his close associations in the schoolroom and on the playground. In a thousand subtle and informal ways, the anti-Negro attitude is instilled into his thinking and acting. Similarly, the culture's attitudes toward sex and toward the appropriate roles of the sexes; toward marriage, the family, and the authority of the parent; toward vocations—does a middle-class boy aspire to be a mechanic or a doctor?—in fact, toward the whole gamut of customs, traditions, and beliefs are gradually "internalized" in the youth until, as an adult, he is prepared to pass the culture on to the next generation. His basis for moral judgments, his decisions when he is freed from supervision, and his self-controls are alike the result of this process of socialization. From an infant with many uncontrolled, primitive, asocial drives, he emerges as an adult with the appropriate inhibitions, the "right" ideas of what to do in various situations, an understanding of what is considered morally right and wrong, and a whole series of ways to express his primitive urges with social approval. This process whereby infant behavior changes to adult behavior is called so-

¹ E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 273.

cialization, a socio-anthropological term to designate the process by which members of a culture or society acquire the cultural pattern.

EDUCATION INVOLVES SOCIALIZATION

The schools are one of the several agencies on which society depends for the socialization of its youth. Other agencies such as the family, the courts, the church, and youth activities such as the Boy Scouts also contribute to the perpetuation in each new generation of the American pattern of social behavior.

In elementary school, the basic skills of reading, writing, and figuring, and the basic patterns of self-control, competition, and cooperation are taught. During the secondary school period these skills and these patterns of behavior are broadened to include adaptations to more complex situations. By the time the student reaches the college years, he is supposedly ready for induction into a still more complex culture, available in our society for those with special endowments who ostensibly will be the group from whom the leaders of the next generation will emerge. The history of great ideas, the skills and technical information, the important literature, the essential attitudes and insights—these, sociologically speaking, are the curriculums of the college. Our American society looks to the colleges as the training ground for tomorrow's leadership in democratic ways of thinking and acting.

So the college has a cultural pattern that it seeks to impose, a refinement in many ways of patterns imposed during precollege years but also an additional pattern which warrants speaking of certain persons in the population as "college-trained." Supposedly the socialization process in college changes the way of thinking and acting of students by adding new beliefs, traditions, customs, and skills. Colleges believe that the student upon admission does not possess the cultural pattern which he should possess for his most effective personal and group living. They accordingly work to change students in desirable ways—in directions approved by the culture of the campus. The educational experience, from a socio-anthropological point of view, thus involves "internalizing" or absorbing the prevailing culture of the campus. Education involves socialization.

But, as we shall discuss more fully later, the college is an independent organization, as well as an agency of society. Sometimes the cultural pattern of a college is not consonant with the prevailing culture to which graduates later go. The socialization process may not then equip the student for more effective citizenship because his culture, upon graduation, is "out of joint" with the prevailing culture in America. This raises a serious and difficult problem: By what criterion may a cultural pattern be judged? Colleges do not educate entirely for the *status quo* in society but for improvement, for progress toward democratic ideals. Where there is disparity between society at large and the culture of a specific campus, how shall it be decided which cultural pattern is right and just?

It is apparent from the foregoing that we must consider a number of important questions: How is socialization on the campus accomplished? By what process do students from diverse backgrounds emerge with the indelible stamp of the campus culture upon them? What are the implications of this process for the curriculum? for the counseling of the individual? How can a college study and improve its methods of socializing students? How can the quality of the cultural pattern be evaluated? The discussion of such questions as these constitutes the content of this chapter.

Case Histories

It may be well to document the changes in students as a result of their college experiences. To do so, we shall tell the stories of Carl and Rose. These excerpts from case studies made by the cooperating colleges of the Study throw in bold outline the *fact of change* (or the lack of it), some of the reasons for change in behavior, and some of the problems the student meets when he shifts from a family culture that differs markedly from the campus culture.

CARL AS A FRESHMAN

With the chaff and dust of his South Dakota plains literally clinging to him, Carl arrived at a midwest college four days early in order to find work. In a high, piping voice that seemed incongruous with his swarthy body, he queried everyone about a job until, finally, he had

landed three jobs! He waited table for his meals in the local "greasy spoon," a campus hangout; he fired the boiler in one of the college dormitories to earn spending money; and he tended the lawn and fire for his landlady for his room.

But he was crude, sometimes uncouth, in his appearance and behavior. Soon he became the butt of many jokes and was by some scathingly scorned. For instance, he was too poor to have enough shirts for a daily change. Unfortunately, he owned only white shirts. And they, of course, got unspeakably dirty when he fired the furnace and hauled ashes. He perspired freely too when he worked so that his "b. o." made him undesirable as a waiter, even at the "greasy spoon." His nails were dirty; his voice, loud. He'd bawl out the customers' orders to the chef as if he were calling across one hundred acres of South Dakota wheat field.

College meant everything to Carl. He had worked in a mill after leaving grammar school until he was eighteen, becoming increasingly dissatisfied. He wanted to get ahead, to know as much as the preacher and the teacher, and to make his mark in the world. Education seemed to him the primrose path. So he suddenly left the mill for high school, which he completed in record time, for Carl was intelligent. He had a quick, incisive, logical mind and the memory of the proverbial elephant. It disappointed him, in fact, that so many college students frittered their time away in bull-sessions, card-playing, and dating. None of that for him—college was business and he had much work to do.

The girls paid little attention to him, except to remark cattily about his baggy pants, his dirty shirt, or his high-pitched, nervous laugh. Only a few of the boys paid any attention to him. Most of them ragged him unmercifully: "Have you got a clean shirt today, Carl?" "How's the wheat crop in South Dakota?" "Hey, Carl, that's a swell pair of shoes you've got," while they winked at each other over his cumbersome brogues. But a few boys quietly sauntered up with the idea of "picking his brains" for help in their Latin or history.

Carl didn't find a single kindred spirit during his first few months. He felt out of step with the rest of the gang—he couldn't dance or play their card games; he thought politics and history and Latin were consumingly interesting—everyone else seemed to be unconcerned; he felt proud to be able to work his way through college—this was the great, American opportunity; but, though others worked too, they were apologetic and silent about it.

CARL AS A SENIOR

As a senior Carl led his class scholastically. His competence in history, sociology, and political science had won him many honors. He

had captained the debate team his last two years. His oratorical skill had given him extensive experience as a speaker before luncheon clubs, church groups, and campus associations on political and social problems.

Although he hadn't joined a fraternity (because he wasn't asked) for his first two years, he had been pledged as a junior to the most exclusive fraternity of the campus. He could well afford the clothes and the social life of this group because his summer earnings as head waiter on a pleasure cruiser "set him up" for the entire school year. He had traveled a long way since the days of the "greasy spoon." His appearance now was always impeccable, with just that hint of nonchalance in dress which indicates the man who is "above" his clothes.

His friends included most of the campus leaders, even those in athletics, an area in which Carl had never manifested much interest. But Carl also helped the "green" freshmen, particularly those from the farms and small towns who felt (and were) awkward and out of place in the social life of the campus.

Carl still dated very little—"no time," he said. The truth of the matter is that he scorned the girls who tolerated his occasional awkwardness. He wanted the sophisticated, swank type—and they took more money and time than he felt justified in spending. They frightened him a little, too. When he talked with them in the classroom or over a coke at the snack bar on campus, he felt nervous and embarrassed. He couldn't be his normal, calm self.

He plans now to attend graduate school to study political science in preparation for a career in teaching or the diplomatic service. The latter possibility has been often in his dreams since his intimate acquaintance with Ralph T., a wealthy fraternity brother who has travelled extensively in Europe and Asia. They both are thinking of exploring this vocational possibility by travel in Europe at the first opportunity.

ROSE

Because Rose's parents were in the diplomatic service in India where the schools were not what they thought adequate, they had left her at age twelve with her aunt, Mrs. M., whose husband was a prominent and successful physician in Chicago. Since Dr. and Mrs. M. had no children of their own, they lavished their affection upon Rose. But from the start she seemed to resent their proprietary attitudes, although she accepted quickly enough the gay clothes and expensive luxuries which they heaped upon her. For Rose was independent, exceedingly so—who wouldn't be, if since you were seven you had lived apart from your folks in boarding schools, had already circled the world twice in every type of vehicle and ship, had banged about the ports and cities

of countless countries, often dependent only upon your own wits to keep you from being hoodwinked?

By the time Rose matriculated at B College, the girls' school which her mother and aunt had agreed upon long ago was the best for her, she was sophisticated and mature beyond the level of most of her classmates. Accustomed to dressing for dinner, imagine her chagrin when the head resident sent her upstairs to change her dress to something simpler, for "this isn't a dress occasion, my dear, and we wouldn't want you to dress differently from the others." And to add insult to injury, a bedraggled, blowzy little freshman from the "backwoods somewhere" actually giggled as Rose ran indignantly upstairs to change.

And smoking! The rule was that women were not allowed to smoke on campus except in the Kozy Korner, a student lounge. Rose felt affronted at this restriction too. And in the dormitory by ten o'clock—she who since she could remember had decided when she should come in from a date. And drinking was a "sin"—Rose was not interested in passing moral judgments upon what others did; all she knew was that her uncle and aunt and she often had cocktails before dinner when they felt like it, and she mightily resented the implication that she was "sinning."

Perhaps because of her basic philosophical "bent," Rose found the lovely chapel on the campus, with its rose window and brilliant blue and red and gold figures of the apostles and prophets, singularly inspiring. Here was a place to meditate, to reach far into the infinite, and to "clasp the hand of God." But again she found herself rebuffed; chapel was compulsory twice a week, a fact in itself not so debilitating to her spiritual enthusiasm, but the required attendance part of the service irritated her. More than that, when she expressed a genuine appreciation for the chapel service in a casual conversation with other students, they at first looked amazed and then laughed at her! The chapel service was apparently not thought much of by other students.

And football! The continuous and everlasting conversation in the dormitory, the classroom, everywhere, about the prowess of "eleven grown boys [from a neighboring men's college] in propelling an inflated pigskin down a muddy field" depressed and annoyed her. Not that Rose was haughty—she even enjoyed football on occasion when she got to know some of the players personally; but she liked to talk about all kinds of things—sports, books, men, clothes, pictures, and ideas—above all, ideas.

So it wasn't long before Rose's differences in tastes, amusements, ideas, and habits stigmatized her with both students and faculty, though for quite different reasons. She felt suffocated on this small campus and longed for the independence she enjoyed in Chicago. It was not surprising that one week end she visited her aunt and uncle—and never returned to B College.

The Campus Subculture

The cultural pattern of a campus is at one and the same time a segment or cross section of American subcultures and a unique culture in its own right. Students come from many different backgrounds, each bringing with him his own cultural pattern. There is the farm boy, the city boy; the wealthy, the comfortable, the poor; the conservative and liberal; the religious and the scoffing; the northerner and the southerner; those who were one of fifty students in a small-town high school and those who were one of five thousand; the sophisticated and the naïve; the cynic and the idealist; Carl and Rose. Their behavior, taken all together, is the behavior which is American. It is as homogeneous and as heterogeneous as any cross section of America's multitudinous subcultures can produce.

But each campus is also a unique culture, a society in itself, a subculture which differs in some respects from any other in American life. Heterogeneous and homogeneous student bodies alike are welded together under the influence of their common experience on a particular campus into a new unity, a sociological entity having traditions, customs, beliefs, habits of speaking, attitudes, and activities which are unique to that campus. For this reason, the college speaks of a person as a "typical X College graduate"; for this reason, too, students develop loyalties to the college as an institution and feel strongly about living up to the "spirit of X College." Such judgments are based upon values which are peculiar to that college; that is, these values do not exist on other campuses in exactly the same pattern, nor do they express themselves in exactly the same way.

The expression "student body" is apt, for it emphasizes the fact that the students on a campus are more than an aggregate of disparate individuals; they are in fact an organic society. Tryon says,

In our society it is probably safe to say that wherever there are children or youth together for any length of time and free to pursue their own purposes, there will be a sub-culture operating. As yet we know all too little about children's societies. . . . However, we know enough about children's groups and societies at the present time to say that such groups have the same important characteristics which are

a part of any adult society; that is, they have group purposes, standards, and values, rules of behavior which may be explicit but more often are implicit, though widely accepted and understood. Such groups also have methods of securing conformity. These latter include most of the methods used in American society by adults to secure conformity of children and adolescents to adult expectations and pressures.²

Students, then, seem to comprise a subculture. How about faculty members as a group? They also come from diverse backgrounds, bringing their cultural patterns with them. Are they also welded into a new unity, a new subculture with traditions, habits, and beliefs which are peculiar to a particular group working together on a particular campus? Evidence from the Study would tend to answer affirmatively. Those who have long been members of a given faculty as well as those who have had experience on several campuses testify to the fact of differences among faculty groups—differences that are not merely the result of different people working together, but differences in purpose, tradition, and custom which could evolve only from a unique subculture.

Let us examine, first, the general characteristics of the campus subculture—those characteristics which occur because the campus society is a true society; and, second, the unique characteristics of the campus society which differentiate it from other subcultures in America.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristics which are generally present in a society can be readily identified in a campus group. For example, students on a campus live according to certain rules and regulations. Sometimes these rules are explicit: they are precisely stated in the catalog or the campus handbook, and, like civil laws, are used as a basis for regulating and disciplining the members of the student body. Sometimes explicit rules are applicable to students only, such as the rule which forbids freshmen from dating upperclassmen or the regulation that new students must wear green caps or ribbons. Sometimes the rules apply to faculty only, such as

² Caroline Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," *Adolescence*, 1943 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Education, 1944), p. 220.

regulations which require grades to be handed in at specified times under penalty of a fine. A few rules apply to both students and faculty, such as a regulation prohibiting drinking or smoking on campus.

Probably the most important rules are those which are implicit and are never written down. These are the regulations which underlie the things "which just are (or are not) done on our campus." For example, in one college society everyone was expected to greet others with a hearty "hello"; if he did not, he was thought unfriendly, high-hat. On another campus, students resent "tubing"—apple-polishing the teacher; as a result, a student isn't seen conferring with a teacher unless beforehand he carefully tells others why. On another campus, the opposite is the implicit rule—the "thing to do" is to drop in frequently to chat with teachers. Implicit rules such as these have particular cogency in regulating behavior on campus because, not being written down, they tend to become sanctified; violations are serious because the rules have the fearsomeness of any bogie.

A campus society also has developed ways and means of securing conformity to these rules and regulations. Sometimes conformity is secured by direct punishment: for example, the student who fails is prohibited from playing on a team. Sometimes conformity may be secured by social disapproval: for example, the individual who refuses to wear a formal evening dress is shunned by others and subsequently ostracized if she persists in her refusal to conform. In some matters awards, honors, prizes, and other indications of group approval virtually effect conformity by crystallizing the kinds of things which everybody ought to strive to do, such as being a campus leader, getting good grades, or being cooperative and helpful in working for the interests of the school. Thus, in both positive and negative ways the group operates so to regulate the behavior of its members that they tend to conform to a pattern of behavior or to be shuffled out of the group.

The campus society has traditions and customs which it venerates. These originate in the history of the institution and are the values to which members of the group are loyal. They serve as focal points about which the behavior of individuals may be or-

ganized. The tradition, for example, of academic proficiency may be a goal which on a given campus affects in multitudinous ways the attitudes, feelings, and activities of students and faculty. The goal of social charm on another campus may operate similarly. Each student when he graduates has completed an experience that has been influenced, whether he wishes it so or not, by the traditional objectives or goals of the campus. Obviously, many students tend to identify as their own goals the goals of the college so that students from one college will emphasize academic proficiency while those from another may emphasize social charm, and so on.

The campus society may even have a language of its own. Who would say that words such as "freshmen," "valedictorian," "probation," "honors course," "academic," "athletic," "extra-curricular," "matriculation" do not have a special connotation on the campus? They are the trade jargon of the campus society. On a given campus the students may evolve a diction which is incomprehensible to outsiders, if not to the faculty members. They speak of faculty members as "only working on two screws," of "tubing" or "apple-polishing," of avoiding other students whom they consider just "San Quentin quail" or "jail bait."

Finally, a campus society has values and standards which operate to mold the society in much the same way that traditions and customs do—values or standards such as "a democratic way of living," or such as those embodied in the phrase "individualized education," or as expressed in religious ideals and concepts. Standards and values provide the society with a unifying force, with a basis for integration, that is (as we shall see later) with an essential ingredient in the process wherein many individuals of diverse interests and cultures may function efficaciously as an organic entity.

UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS

There are important differences, however, between societies in general and the campus society, differences which have significant implications for the job of general education.

1. One such difference is that *the campus society is primarily educative in purpose*, rather than biological or economical. The

students and faculty are assembled, not as in other societies to perpetuate the race, protect the young, and secure the economic necessities for living; but, on the contrary, for the primary purpose of training the young. This purpose integrates the society of the campus—it binds together the many ways in which the social structure operates; that is, it provides the ostensible *reason* why students have fraternities, why they have classes, why student-faculty teas are part of the program, why there are student councils, YMCA's, debate societies, and departmental clubs. Presumably every aspect of the social structure—that is, the "system of formal and informal groupings by which the social behavior of the individual is regulated"³—is ultimately related to the principal purpose of education. In adult society, the economic system and the social system seem to be the integrating factors which tie together the family, the clique, the economic institution, the caste, and the class into one society.⁴ In the college society, everything ultimately should point to educational values.

In the history of American education, even in recent times, the validity of the classroom experiences in achieving educational values has rarely been questioned; the implication, however, that the social experience of the student *outside of the classroom* should also have educative value has not been readily conceded. The practices of the cooperating colleges of the Study, as we have reported extensively in Part I, are consistent, however, with the philosophy that the total experience on the campus is and should be educative.⁵ The only possible integrative force that can relate the varied social experience of the campus into a meaningful whole is a basic, educational purpose. When recognized, such a purpose motivates and guides the thinking of faculty members and students alike in their planning, for example, of extra-class activities; it gives meaning and perhaps new direction to the religious activities; it throws intercollegiate athletics into a new perspective. Each activity is measured by the criterion: Is it educative? In what way? How can its value be improved?

In the best of all possible worlds, the campus society would be

³ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. v.

⁵ See particularly chaps. iii and iv.

consistently educative; no activity would be sponsored by the campus society which could not directly be related to educational values as determined by the college. But, of course, this is not achieved as yet (although some colleges have gone very far toward achieving it). Consequently, we have the opposite of integration in many campus societies—disintegration, a confusion of values, competition between activities for the interest, support, and approval of the campus group.

Some aspects of the social structure—for example, fraternities, sororities, and similar selective in-groups—achieve certain values which may be undemocratic, opposed to the welfare of the group as a whole, and/or which provide experiences of socially educative value to only their few members. Other aspects of the social structure—athletic groups, the debating organizations, art clubs, glee clubs, and the like—ostensibly serve valued educative ends but are so organized that only a minority of the students may participate in them.

Why should not every student be on a team if being on a team is educative? Why should not every student have aesthetic experience in keeping with his capacities? The upholders of the *status quo* may retort that every student *can* have aesthetic experience; every student *can* be on a team if he's willing to work hard enough; every student *can* join a fraternal group—or the Independents! Of course, this may be true. But the observations by the cooperating colleges are that athletics, musical organizations, art groups, fraternal groups, and the like *as they are often organized* in terms of the total campus social life too frequently serve only such ends as increasing the prestige of the college, paying for the stadium, publicizing the college among alumni or potential students, or providing experience for a limited few. This disintegrates the campus society and splits the standards and values among competitive groups.

The implication of the fact that a campus society is avowedly educative in purpose, therefore, is that colleges should be challenged to test all campus activities by the criterion, are they educative? They should strive to provide equal access to all educative activity, and then to study ways and means of improving the college's usefulness in serving educational ends. As the integration

of the campus society improves under such an impetus, the quality of the educational experience will improve; the unity of the society, becoming more pronounced, will bring greater security to its members; and the clarification of goals that will follow will increase the efficacy of efforts to achieve them.

2. A second difference is that *the campus society is known by its members to be transitory in nature*. For the student, of course, the usual expectation is that college will last no longer than four years; for the faculty, except possibly among those who have long been with a particular institution, the possibility of transferring to another job may be present to produce a feeling of impermanence. (This difference in feeling of permanency between faculty and students we shall discuss more fully in connection with a third unique characteristic of the campus society.⁶)

The fact that the majority of the campus society must inevitably look upon their membership in the group as temporary has a number of important effects. First, rapid change in the fundamental patterns of acceptable behavior is possible. In a society which spans the lifetime of individuals, changes are generally slowly made (except under the trauma of a war or some catastrophic incident, such as destruction by fire or earthquake). The reason for such slowness is often the tenacity of the older members of the group in clinging to the "tried and true" ways of believing and acting, for changing to new modes of behavior means insecurity. In a campus society, each new generation of students *can* establish a new order: one generation can abolish fraternities, the next reinstate them; one *can* approve of minute regulation of social behavior, the next *can* decide to live only within the limits of civil law.

In one of the cooperating colleges the opportunity to make such rapid change is considered educationally desirable. At this junior college, the entire battery of rules and regulations governing social activities is swept aside and formulated anew every two years. This practice gives each student, if he wishes, an opportunity to share in the creation of the kind of society under which he desires to live.

The second effect of the transitory nature of the college expe-

⁶See below, pp. 298-302.

rience is a tendency to prolong the infancy of the student. Some students seem to say, in effect, "There is nothing necessarily permanent about campus life; so, what I do and say here will have little bearing upon what I do when I get out." The danger of such irresponsibility is reinforced by two factors: (a) In our American culture, through compulsory education until sixteen or even eighteen, postponements of marriage, and in a host of other ways, we put off the day when the boy must say, "Now I am a man and can do a man's work." We hold him at the boy-stage until long after he has attained manhood physiologically; we prolong the period of his emotional immaturity by creating the conditions which foster dependence, the avoidance of responsibility for his own behavior, and the need for self-support. (b) The danger of prolonged infancy is fostered by the common notion that school is only a preparation for life, not both preparation and life itself. This, sadly enough, is often a realistic appraisal of practices in the colleges. The students are sometimes treated at twenty years of age as though they could not run their own lives within the limits of civil law. (Why this should be so when noncollege youngsters of twenty are marrying, rearing families, holding down responsible jobs, and in other ways discharging the responsibilities of full adulthood, is hard to say.) For these reasons, students seem to be easily led to believe that college is a desirable postponement of adulthood, a period for dependence, play, and the unreality of the "cloistered hall and the ivory tower."

3. A third characteristic of the campus society has already been implied: *the possibility of two parallel cultures, one among students, the other among faculty members.* Faculty members, as a group, may have different values or at least emphasize them differently; they achieve status in different ways. Faculty are more interested in scholarship, professional advancement, their families, the progress of the church, and the like; students may value the championship in football, the acquisition of new skills in preparation for a vocation, the opportunity to enjoy a rich social life, and the gold medal in debating. The differences in age, education, and maturity are more than likely to create a difference in the basic pattern of social living between the two groups.

When there is a double culture on campus—a hiatus between

the cultures of students and faculty—the relations between the two groups may assume one of several different forms or a mixture of them. For instance, a faculty group may say, in effect, "What students do outside of class is no concern of ours; they are adults; let them live within the civil law. We shall erect no special campus regulations except those required by the need for academic efficiency, such as quiet rules in the library, class attendance, and the like." Students may for their part also ignore the culture of the faculty—their values, traditions, and judgments—and evolve out of their friendships with other students a pattern of behavior acceptable to students as a group. Here, then, would be parallel cultures, like double railroad tracks, that run ostensibly in the same direction but never cross over or combine.

Or a faculty may feel that students are preadult and should, therefore, be protected, guided, shielded. They say, in effect, "Students must prove their right to be self-governing; our wisdom and greater experience place us in the position of responsibility. Our job is to set the rules and regulations. When the student graduates, he will be better prepared to lead the right kind of life." This paternalism, although perhaps not in so bald a form, is quite prevalent in the thinking of faculties today. Students generally react to it by protective withdrawal—they live up to the rules and regulations laid down by the faculty, but compensate for any frustration they may feel by developing special codes of student behavior. For example, they may cheat promiscuously; they may secretly honor the person who defies the laws; they may look upon "staying out after hours" as a luscious dereliction which reflects only on the unsuitability of the laws.

Sometimes when the cultural pattern of the faculty is thus rigidly imposed upon the students, the latter may show considerable resistance. In one college, women students often had to remain over night in a hotel in a nearby city where they took special evening courses. Should the college chaperon them or not? The college did. Some students acquiesced; others, however, represented the lack of faith the faculty displayed and did everything in their power to violate the rules. Infractions called for punishment and a tightening of the rules; faculty members who had insisted on the chaperonage felt justified; some students, continu-

ing to resent their lack of opportunity to be responsible to live decent lives, continued to break the laws—and so a vicious circle of unsatisfactory conditions persisted.

Many of the cooperating colleges believe that a hiatus, having these consequences, need not exist. They have deliberately set out to bridge the gaps between the two groups by recognizing the existence of different cultural patterns, by promoting a sharing of experiences related to the common welfare, by consciously trying to evolve a new, campus-wide culture to which students and faculty alike contribute. The social structure then controls the behavior of the individuals in the community because students and faculty alike agree upon standards of behavior.

A single example from the experience of Antioch College will illustrate how such a concept of the campus society works out. Several years ago Antioch students raised the question, "Why should the student lounges in the dormitories be closed at ten o'clock?" These lounges were rooms completely separated from the dormitories themselves and were for the leisure-time use of men and women students and faculty. The Community Council, a governing body with students and faculty members, voted to do away altogether with closing hours. From time to time, a few students abused the privilege and caused the college embarrassment. These instances raised the question in the Community Council, "Perhaps we should have some closing hour, although later than ten o'clock. Apparently a few students cannot be adult." Together with the Administrative Council, consisting also of students and faculty, the Community Council voted to close the student lounges at one o'clock in the interests of protecting the community against the slander that the activities of an occasional student might bring.

When there is a single culture, as opposed to the concept of parallel cultures by students and faculty, the conditions are created for emotional maturity, a sense of responsibility, an interest in the welfare of others, in fact for the kinds of characteristics we wish students to have as citizens of tomorrow. The reason is clear: in a single-culture society, the campus is a laboratory for living; it is both life and a preparation for life. Let us examine these familiar phrases to see what they mean in practice.

A universal objective of general education in America is to train the student for effective citizenship. Under the aegis of bicultural training, the faculty will attempt to control through lectures, through supervision of the student government, and in other ways, the kinds of experience the student has, hoping that his intellectual appreciation of democratic procedures and his skill in living democratically will improve. Under the program of a single-culture standard, however, the faculty and students together face the problems: "How can we make *our* campus life democratic? What must we do to be democratic *now*?"

One college, facing the question, "What should be the end results of citizenship training?" writes as follows:

Since the laws governing habit-formation and the development of attitudes cannot be voided by professional fiat, critical attention must be given to the methods employed in citizenship training. In great measure, "the student is what he is becoming." Therefore, in developing the desirable habits and attitudes of citizenship, the training situations must approximate as closely as possible the real-life situations in which adult citizenship abilities will be exercised.

Critical examination of the place of the citizen in a functioning democracy tends to reveal, among the prime characteristics of such a citizen, the following qualities: a feeling of responsibility for the actions of his government, a sense of concern for the welfare of others, participation in the formation of public policy, awareness of problems, an active seeking for information bearing on these problems, open-minded interchange of ideas with others, the ability to make considered decisions, the habit of "taking action" with respect to acknowledged problems. If this is the nature of the citizen we wish to see our education produce, then citizenship training must consist of the placing of the student in situations in which he is responsible for the nature of his in-training government, situations in which he is aware of the fact that the actions of others are his concern, situations in which he participates in policymaking for his group, situations in which he must seek information bearing on pertinent problems, situations which call for "give and take" in discussion, and situations which demand decision and action.⁷

Students in this college share the responsibility with faculty for regulating social life in the dormitories; they are on disciplinary committees and hence are aware of the ways in which the actions of others are their concern; they make policies—in fact, every two

⁷ *Stephens College News Reporter*, III, December 1943.

years they redo the entire job of policy-making for the campus; they, of course, seek information from faculty, alumni, students, other resources; they have endless discussions; and they act in accord with their decisions. At Stephens and other colleges with similar approaches, they are moving rapidly toward a single-culture standard. The barrier between students and faculty—a barrier which mitigates against common action, communication of ideas, and a feeling of oneness—is being lowered.

SUMMARY

The campus society is a segmental culture displaying the patterns of behavior that are characteristic of the numerous subcultures from which the students come. It is also a unique culture because (1) its purpose is primarily educative, (2) it is known by its members to be transitory, and (3) it may be either a double culture or a single culture, each having important educational implications. The trend among the cooperating colleges is toward a single-culture standard which students and faculty, working together as members of a single community, evolve to meet their personal and educational needs.

The Importance of Social Roles in the Individual's Development

From the point of view of the individual student, how does the existence of a campus culture operate? What effect does it have on him? How is his development affected differently by double-culture or single-culture communities? The discussion of some of these questions is our next concern.

The roles of an individual in his social group are important to his development as a person because they represent the valuation of him by others. In a sense, a society is like the director of a play who assesses the applicants for roles and then metes out assignments. In a campus society individual roles include those of the athlete, the student, the apple-polisher, the butt of jokes, the serious-minded, the shy-timid, the sissy, the dreamer, the boy-chaser. These roles constitute the group's appraisal of the individual as he functions in the campus society. Whether these are right or wrong valuations of him as a person, whether they meet

with his approval or disapproval is irrelevant at the moment; the fact is that in terms of its standards and values the campus society grants status, a place in the hierarchy, to each member of the group.

Each person may, of course, have several roles simultaneously, depending upon the circumstances of the moment: in the classroom, the "perfect student"; on the gridiron, a steady, reliable "back"; in the fraternity house, the "grind"; at the house party, a quietly humorous, congenial person. One role, highly valued, such as being the athlete, may bring such prestige and status to its holder that his other roles are strongly influenced by it. The "halo effect" of this role operates to spread his influence beyond the realm of athletics into the social life of the campus, into the classroom, and perhaps into adult society. He is touted and honored; even teachers may minimize his weaknesses scholastically in order to keep him eligible for athletics; he may be thought a good candidate for his fraternity's presidency because of his prowess on the gridiron; a bond house may employ him to sell bonds and stocks because of his prestige as an athlete.

WHEN ROLES ARE ACCEPTABLE

Two factors produce acceptable roles: (1) the degree to which the role meets the person's basic personality needs, and (2) the degree to which he can control the role. These may be considered briefly.

Elsewhere we have discussed the basic personality needs—the physiological needs for food, activity, rest; the social needs for belonging, for feeling a likeness to others in essential and desirable ways, for developing strong affectional relations, for making heterosexual adjustments, and so on.⁸ A social role may thus be acceptable because it brings with it a sense of belonging or of likeness to others, because it satisfactorily provides affection, because it provides status with those of the opposite sex and thus facilitates heterosexual adjustment. For example, the chairman of a student council committee may enjoy his role because he is interested in and capable of leading a group to do a job that others on the

⁸See chaps. ix and x; also D. A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educational Process* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), chap. vi.

campus feel is important; the chap who couldn't dance but went out to learn and then returned to find himself "accepted" by the gang at the next all-college dance prizes his role as a dancer because he now "belongs"; a crippled boy who longed to be athletic found that he could be manager of the football team, a desirable role from his point of view because he could do something related to athletics that was valued by team members and students generally.

Roles, to be acceptable, must also involve something of the element of choice. The chairman of the student council committee could have turned down the job; the would-be dancer could have refused to learn this social skill; the cripple could have ignored athletics altogether. By choosing or at least having a part in choosing the role he played, the person retains a sense of mastery, of being captain of his fate, which is contributory to self-assurance and confidence.

But sometimes roles are assigned without the individual's choice at all. Carl⁹ had no choice when he arrived on campus in his role of mill hand. The combination of the environment from which he came—the "culture he carried with him"—and the environment to which he came, which tended to condemn Carl's original environment, determined the role he had. Other examples are the Negro in a white community, the Protestant in a Catholic group, the cripple, the ugly, the ungainly, tall, awkward, or obese—these persons are inevitably different in appearance and their innate or acquired differences serve to assign them roles. Even then, however, the arbitrarily assigned roles may be acceptable if the individual can accept himself as he is, without undue emotion, with a sense of humor.¹⁰ Thus, even when the element of choice is absent, the roles may be acceptable. The individual is willing to have others value him for what he is.

WHEN ROLES ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE

When roles are not acceptable, the reverse of these factors tends to be true: thus, a given role may not meet a person's basic per-

⁹ See *supra*, pp. 287-89.

¹⁰ See chap. xi, pp. 262-65 for a more extensive discussion of self-acceptance of the body.

sonality need. For example, a person who is very insecure, filled with feelings of social inadequacy, lacking confidence in himself, finds himself practically ignored by his fellows. He is virtually assigned to the role of nonentity. Unwilling to accept this valuation of himself, he may indulge in various attention-getting devices, such as loud talking, bizarre clothes, or peculiar mannerisms; he is saying, in effect, "You may not pay any attention to me because you don't notice me; but I'll make you notice me and then you'll see that I am interesting after all." Or he may try to avoid his role by moving to another college.

Or, the individual's racial status—let us say he is Jewish in a predominantly Gentile population—is an immutable fact which automatically, according to the values of the society on a campus, may ostracize him from participation in many of the social activities. He may fight with all his might to change the valuation of Jews by this society—this would certainly represent an aggressive, wholesome attack upon his unacceptable status; he may shrug his shoulders indifferently and "leave well enough alone," meanwhile turning upon himself the antagonism he may feel for those who give him no place in the sun—he thus may withdraw as much as possible from social contacts in order to avoid being castigated. Or he may react in other ways. In any event, the role to which he is assigned without his choice is unacceptable.

The role may be unacceptable because, although it is envied and valued by others to such an extent that a person cannot afford to spurn it, he personally dislikes it. For example, teachers may often inadvertently label a person an "intellectual" because of his superior intelligence; his classmates grant him this role too—he is the best in a class. But he wants—that is, needs—more than anything else to be one of the gang, to be accepted on an equal footing, not because he is different. He may tend, therefore, to minimize his intellectual capacity, to avoid reciting in class, to show himself deliberately as more stupid than he really is in order to win status as a "regular guy."

Roles may be unacceptable because they are differently valued by students and faculty. A student with high status among faculty members because he is docile, hard-working, and studious may be scorned by students as a "grind," and "apple-polisher." Since so-

cially such a student must live with other students, not faculty, his acceptable status with faculty only serves to embarrass him and deny him an acceptable role with fellow-students. Such situations are common in double-culture societies.

SUMMARY

The concept of status thus helps us to see how the campus society "assigns" roles to its members in accord with the society's values. These roles represent the valuations of the member by the society. As such they are exceedingly important to his development because of the basic need for status with one's fellows. Whether the assigned roles are acceptable or not depends upon such factors as (a) the degree to which they meet the person's basic personality needs, (b) the degree of choice he can exercise in selecting his roles, and (c) what person or group it is whose values determine the role.

Basic Principles

It may be well at this point to summarize the basic principles and concepts.

1. The campus society is organic; it operates apart from the life of any one individual as an entity, a social organism, and follows certain definable processes and forces.
2. An important function of the society is to regulate the behavior of its members so that they "serve" the ends or goals of the society.
3. To secure the conformity of behavior demanded by the organic nature of a society, a system of rules and regulations affecting the individual's behavior is evolved.
4. The social structure of the society is this "system of formal and informal groupings by which the social behavior of individuals is regulated."¹¹
5. In accord with the social structure, members of the society are granted status or statuses—a place or role which they may occupy or perform in the life of the group.
6. Status or role is defined by the society and may be assigned to the individual in terms of the needs of the group or society.

¹¹ Warner and Lunt, *ibid.*, p. iv.

This is not to say that the individual's own personality is not recognized in the assignment of the role. An individual may create his own role by contributing in a unique fashion to the life of the group. Nevertheless, whether or not the role is possible is determined by the structure of the society.

7. The social structure of a society which is to live must also meet the basic personality needs of the largest number of members of that society; it cannot go counter to the personal requirements of the members. A given society such as in a women's college cannot ignore the need of students to make heterosexual adjustment during the period of college attendance. Some opportunities must be provided for students of such a society to meet and participate socially with men.

8. The campus society is unique in that it can be changed more quickly and more radically than other societies which are integrated about the need to perpetuate the race or to earn a living.

9. The campus society is unique in that it is primarily educational in purpose.

10. The campus society may have two distinct groups of people—students and faculty; these groups may persist in maintaining a double culture or, to the extent that they have common interests and purposes, they may evolve a single culture. The former condition is less educationally desirable than the latter.

11. The campus society influences the development of the individual through its assignment of roles or status since holders of these roles or these statuses tend to evaluate themselves according to the valuation placed upon them by their society.

Implications for Education

A number of implications may readily be derived when the campus society is viewed in such sociological terms. The following implications represent the directions in which the cooperating colleges of the Study are tending to move, the ideals and values which serve to control and guide the thinking in the colleges.

1. The campus society should provide democratic, adult roles. As we have seen, the roles that an individual plays in campus life have tremendous importance in his self-evaluation and hence in

his development toward emotional maturity and standards of adult behavior. Consequently, to the extent that they are able, students should be given roles to play in a campus life which are consonant with the roles they will be expected to play as citizens. For example, if, as citizens, students will later be expected to take a keen interest in the government of their society, their interest should be stimulated and organized now by sharing with them planning, activity, disciplining, and responsibility for the community. The campus should be viewed both as life itself and as a preparation for life. Only on the basis of such a concept can any realism enter into the college experience.

2. Each individual should find it possible to develop appropriate roles. The campus society should be so organized and operated that every student has roles appropriate to his needs. The recognition of roles is an important consideration in the planning and execution of policies governing the allocation of responsibility, in the basis for valuation of individuals, and in the variety of opportunity open to each individual. This recognition is the essence of an effective program of individualized education. For example, students on some campuses value the role of the athlete very much because in the social structure of the campus these roles bring prestige; athletes get the lion's share of opportunity to be leaders, to command the attention and respect of others, and so on. When such an emphasis, however, thrusts other and equally important valuations of the individual into the background and when it means that only relatively few students may secure roles appropriate to their growth and development, then the emphasis is wrong. All students, including the spindle-legged, the intellectually mediocre, and the socially inept, should have equal opportunity to be valued by others for activities which they can perform.

3. Teachers in the classroom should recognize the importance of group structuring. By becoming sensitive to the importance to the individual's development of his place in the social structure of the classroom, teachers can more successfully work to (a) create the classroom conditions which provide each individual with appropriate roles, and (b) adapt their teaching methods to capitalize upon the power derived from social structure.

4. The present social structure of a campus society should be carefully and objectively studied. The purpose of such study would be to determine the basis upon which social roles are granted at present, to isolate the processes and forces which are at present operating to regulate the behavior of individuals and to evaluate the present society in terms of such criteria as: (a) Are activities educative? (b) Is the social structure democratic? (c) Does the social structure meet the basic needs of each student?

An Outline of a Personnel Philosophy of Education

FOLLOWING IS AN outline of the assumptions which, taken together, undergird a personnel philosophy of education. This summary is built upon the theoretical principles stated in the chapters just preceding and synthesizes the point of view for the personnel practices discussed in Part I. It should be stressed that this attempt at synthesis is not an official statement subscribed to by the cooperating colleges but rather the author's effort to systematize the ideas, beliefs, and orientation which seem to him to be implicit in the student personnel work of the cooperating colleges.

Such general, major assumptions as are given below may be useful in clarifying the broad tendencies and tenets of educational practice. They must be used cautiously because their generality leaves many issues unclear, issues which in a more precise statement would be made explicit. It is hoped, however, that this chapter may be useful to faculty groups who are exploring the meaning of a personnel point of view, who desire some systematization of the assumptions involved in such a common phrase, for example, as "the development of the total student," or who for other reasons are interested in digging below the surface of personnel practices to their bases in attitudes toward human nature, society, and the work of education.

- I. *Assumptions regarding the nature of growth and development*
 - A. *Each individual has basic personality needs which he continuously seeks to satisfy.*
 1. Basic personality needs arise from the interaction between forces within the individual (as a psychobiological organism) and forces without the individual in his physical and social environment.
 2. Needs may be classified into three categories:

- a) Physiological needs
 - b) Social needs
 - c) Ego or integrative needs
- 3. While each individual has the same type of need—e.g., the physiological need for food, the social need for “belonging”—each individual manifests a unique “pattern of reactivity” as he seeks to satisfy his needs. The pattern of reactivity, giving the individual his peculiar personality, results from the interaction between inner and outer forces.
- 4. The frustration of the individual’s efforts to satisfy his basic needs is the source of maladjustment.
 - a) The desire to satisfy needs is a force, a drive, an immutable urge which compels the individual to seek satisfaction.
 - b) When a need is frustrated—e.g., the social need for being valued by others is frustrated by the individual’s being rejected because of his family, color, creed, ugliness, or whatever—the energy, the force, which drives toward the satisfaction is then spent in some other way—by his rejecting others in turn, hating, etc., or by his sublimating this energy into such socially approved channels as pro-Negro agitation, art, or other means for “winning” valuation by others.
 - c) Needs when frustrated too much or for too long lead to physical death—the needs for water, food, etc.—or personality disintegration—the needs for a philosophy of life, a feeling of likeness to others, etc.
- 5. The appropriate satisfaction of basic needs promotes health, mental and physical, and the growth of the personality in effective, happy living.
- 6. Needs rarely exist singly but seem to function in clusters whose membership varies from situation to situation—e.g., the need for affectional relations and the need for status are related in the behavior of the student who changed her grade report card from F’s to B’s because her mother “expected” her to do good work even though she was incapable of better than average scholastic achievement.

B. *As the individual grows up in his culture, he must achieve certain developmental or growth tasks.*

- 1. The developmental or growth task is imposed by the culture—most boys in our culture are expected to learn how to earn a livelihood as adults; both boys and girls are “expected” to come to terms with their sex roles in socially appropriate ways; and so on (see below).

2. The developmental tasks are constructs or arbitrary abstractions to help in understanding the personality as a resultant of inner (psychosomatic) and outer (cultural) forces. They represent points or areas where the forces of society and the drives within the individual meet to contend for control or, so to speak, to find a way of cooperating. When social forces overpower the individual, he loses his identity and his self-esteem; when inner forces dominate the individual, he may be antisocial and punished by society in accord with his age and violation of the social mores.
3. The objective of the individual in the developmental task, therefore, is so to harmonize inner and outer forces in his behavior that he is at once self-respecting and socially approved and successful. Such harmony is achieved through the gradual process of socialization whereby the individual internalizes the requirements imposed on him by society so that they become his requirements of himself—e.g., the infant begins necessarily dependent upon others; later this dependence is centered in emotional terms on the parent (usually the mother); in adolescence and finally as an adult he is expected to lose this emotional dependence gradually and be able to stand on his own feet. During this process, if his growth (i.e., his achievement of the developmental task of securing independence) is normal and healthy, he internalizes (makes his own) the expectations of him as an adult in the culture and thus finds it comfortable to live up to his own standards of independence.
4. The developmental tasks are areas of personality adjustment which are convenient to an understanding of the individual because:
 - a) The definition by the culture of *what the individual ought to be* is crucial in its significance to the personality and
 - b) The definition by the individual of *what he wants to be* is crucial to his personality adjustment.
 - (1) The *culture*, for example, defines independence from parents—it imposes upon the individual the task of becoming emotionally weaned.
 - (2) The *individual* defines, for example, his philosophy of life—it must represent a scheme of values suitable to *his way of living*.
5. The developmental tasks are—
 - a) Independence from parents

- b) Social adequacy and emotional security
 - c) Heterosexual adjustment
 - d) Vocational orientation
 - e) Philosophy of life
 - f) Self-acceptance (self-evaluation)—
 - (1) Body processes
 - (2) Sex role
 - (3) Social value of body
 - g) Goals and aspirations
 - h) Sense of humor and insight
 - 6. The developmental tasks are not discrete entities but areas of personality adjustment which often overlap—e.g., the task of achieving independence from parents involves the task of making appropriate heterosexual adjustments (finding relations with the opposite sex outside the home). Both tasks are intimately related to physiological maturity and other factors in physical and mental growth.

C. *The society (culture) in which the individual lives is an organism possessing processes (e.g., those which control the behavior of members) and goals (e.g., the happiness of its members through democratic living).*

 - 1. The social structure of a culture is a "system of formal and and informal groupings by which the social behavior of individuals is regulated."
 - 2. In order to survive as a culture, the culture must meet the basic needs of the majority of the members.
 - 3. The campus culture has important characteristics in terms of the development of the individual:
 - a) It is more rapidly changeable than other cultures.
 - b) Its primary purpose is educative.
 - c) The roles developed by the individual in the campus social structure help to define his valuation of himself.
 - d) There may be a double culture (students and faculty having different, opposing cultures) or a single culture (students and faculty sharing appropriately in the one system).

D. *Learning is a change in goal-seeking behavior.*

 - 1. All behavior is purposive—it is an effort to achieve the person's goals.
 - 2. The whole individual strives to achieve his goals—i.e., intellectual, emotional, and physical resources are involved.
 - 3. Learning occurs only when goals *cannot* be achieved (except by learning).
 - 4. Learning is facilitated when the learner sees a "direct and

sensible relation" between the material to be learned and the achievement of his goals.

5. Goals may be known by the teacher as well as the learner.
6. Goals are changed through experience—i.e., through responses by the whole person to meaningful situations.
7. Experience may be either—
 - a) Vicarious—e.g., reading, watching a game, seeing a movie.
 - b) Real—e.g., writing, playing a game, acting in dramatic productions.

II. Assumptions regarding the function of education

- A. *One purpose of education is to change the behavior of students in order that—*
 1. Each student may live happily through the realization of goals which capitalize to the fullest extent upon his potentialities.
 2. Each student may develop the personal characteristics of an effective citizen in our democracy.
- B. *A second purpose of education is to maintain and improve the quality of democratic living in our society.*
 1. The social obligation of education defines the limitations upon the achievement of purpose #1—e.g., no college may teach fascist doctrines in our society.
 2. The colleges (and schools) represent a means of the society for its continued maintenance and growth through the development of leadership, the preservation of tradition, and the exploration of newer, better ways of realizing democratic goals of living.

III. Assumptions regarding the procedures of education

- A. *Assumptions regarding counseling*
 1. Counseling is a form of teaching which involves interaction between two persons. Its aim is to change behavior.
 2. It may be directive or nondirective as a procedure.
 - a) Directive (prescriptive) counseling is that form of goal-changing experience in which the counselor assumes a dominant, directive role by giving the counselee information, clarifying his thinking, making suggestions, and in other ways taking control of the learning situation.
 - b) Nondirective (permissive) counseling is that form of goal-changing experience in which the counselor creates a situation that enables the counselee to express and recognize his feelings freely; the counselor scrupulously avoids control of the counselee's thinking and feeling; the counselor makes no decision, suggestions, or gives no

information; permissive counseling produces learning through growth by the counselee in handling his own problems as a result of his improved understanding of his goals, and his resources for achieving them.

3. It may be performed by either a student or faculty member, depending upon his abilities, training, and experience.
 - a) Prescriptive counseling can be performed by those who have information and judgments which others need or are willing to accept.
 - b) Permissive counseling can be performed only by those with special training, aptitudes, and insights.
4. The counseling efforts of teachers and students are made most effective by—
 - a) Developing an organization which insures equal opportunity to each student to utilize the counseling facilities of the college.
 - b) Securing and making available the necessary information for effective counseling.
 - (1) Directive counseling demands extensive personnel information about the student's abilities, interests, skills, beliefs, and information; about the genesis and use by the student of these personal resources; about the basic personality structure of the student; etc.
 - (2) Nondirective counseling needs little personnel information of this sort, if any.
 - c) Providing rich opportunities for growth in counseling skill by teachers and students.
 - d) Providing the working conditions wherein "cross-fertilization" of understandings and insights gained from counseling and other personnel services may occur—a two-way flow.

B. Assumptions regarding classroom work

1. The aim of classroom work is to affect the total development of the student by improving his personal resources—e.g., by increasing his information, changing his interests, stimulating new appreciations, creating new attitudes, improving his skills.
2. Group instruction in the classroom more effectively teaches (i.e., effects such changes in the behavior of students) when—
 - a) The classroom is recognized as a social situation. The personality interaction between teachers and class and among members of the class is recognized as a factor which affects learning by creating roles, by producing

emotional responses such as loyalty or hate, and by stifling or freeing the individual's power to grow.

- b) The instructor is alert to the significance of overt behavior—i.e., he sees each bit of behavior as an expression of need; he "reads" the meaning which lies behind overt behavior.
- c) The relation between the content of the classroom work and the goals of students is clear and reasonable.

C. Assumptions regarding extra-class activities

- 1. Extra-class life includes those activities on or off campus over which the college community has some measure of control and responsibility—e.g., living arrangements, athletics and physical education programs, other recreational activities such as in art, music, and drama. In addition, extra-class life which the college should recognize includes off-campus life over which the college has no control—e.g., life in the home, church, in employment.
- 2. Extra-class life is an educative resource for teaching students that should be utilized in the planning and execution of programs to achieve educational aims.
- 3. Extra-class life may effectively be made an educational resource provided that—
 - a) Students and faculty continuously share in the planning and executing of policies and programs.
 - b) A flexible organization is maintained because educational aims are served.
 - c) Continuous evaluation takes place.

D. Assumptions regarding administration of personnel services

- 1. The personnel services to be administered include the following types of activities of the college, each with the identical general educational objectives but each serving as a different means of attaining them:
 - a) Classroom instruction
 - b) Extra-class life
 - (1) Living arrangements
 - (2) Recreational activities
 - (3) Religious activities
 - (4) Social activities
 - (5) Aesthetic activities
 - (6) Etc.
 - c) Specialized services
 - (1) Health clinic
 - (2) Testing bureau
 - (3) Psychological clinic

- (4) Library
- (5) Etc.

d) The counseling program

- 2. Administration is a function of individuals or groups in which power is used to control the behavior of people and to secure coordinated action in order that desired goals may more effectively be attained.

a) The use of power by the individual (e.g., director of personnel) or a group (e.g., the committee on social affairs) is most effective when—

- (1) The needs of faculty and students as persons are recognized.
- (2) Democratic processes are used in the definition and discharge of authoritative functions.
- (3) The organization developed to facilitate the administration of personnel services is consistently regarded only as a means to an end.

b) The use of power should be a function of cooperative planning to achieve educational goals.

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